



THE
SELECT SPEECHES

OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P

EDITED, WITH HISTORICAL NOTICES, ETC.,

BY HIS SON,

JOHN O'CONNELL ESQ.

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SELECT SPEECHES

OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ., M.P.

THE speech of Mr. O'Connell, with which we commence this volume, was in many respects a remarkable one. In the first place it brings out in a clear light one great and marking feature of his policy, that of steady persistence in the use of the ways and means that the constitution provides for declaring grievances and demanding redress; persistence through every discouragement, and apparently, but only apparently, against hope itself at times.

In the next place it presents a lively picture of the state of things in Europe, at the period of the first Napoleon's first abdication—now not far from forty years ago; the hopes then rationally entertained for human liberty—the opportunities then before kings and princes to give a permanent and enduring basis in the grateful affections of their enfranchised subjects, to thrones and dynasties, yet but tremblingly re-established after the terrible hurricane of war and conquest that had for a while overset them. To us, at present, anxious spectators of the probable beginning of another mighty European controversy in arms; who have had such ample material and time to judge of the faults, the follies, the mistakes, and the crimes that were committed in 1815, and that have borne such fatal fruit since (notably so in that year of terrible distraction and disaster, and of still more terrible omen of future evil, the year 1848), there cannot be anything more interesting than the picture this speech gives of things and expectations at the moment in question, when kings and princes had the destinies of nations, as well as their own in their hands, to model them for good or ill, at their pleasure; and when a little wisdom, a little self-denial, a little generosity, a little faithfulness to the promises by which, in former moments of deadly peril they had won the heart-whole support of their people against the French invader, might have secured the lasting peace and happiness of the world!

In the third place this speech is particularly remarkable for the clear, penetrating, and decisive view that Daniel O'Connell took of the now generally condemned and exploded injustice of the Corn Laws. Far otherwise were those laws at that time than condemned. They were just being re-enacted after an interval of several years; and their re-enactment was, at the time we speak of, hailed by public speakers and writers as a measure of great wisdom. In Ireland, especially, were they held up as eminently calculated to be of benefit, and the assumed organs of public opinion here, and indeed whatever degree of public opinion then was active amongst us, fastened with a loving faith upon the plausibilities of the scheme, and set down as ill-judging, or ill-disposed, any one who attempted to stay the current, and urge a calmer and a larger consideration.

It will be seen how even Mr. O'Connell, himself, popular as he then was, and little capable as he then or at any other time showed himself, of being daunted in any duty he had once

undertaken, was obliged to content himself with one brief, but clear and unmistakeable denunciation of the Corn Laws, and to proceed with what dispatch he might, to topics more in consonance with the feelings and persuasions of his auditory.

It will also be seen, that in truth, the *whole case* against the Corn Laws is stated in this speech, briefly, succinctly, powerfully. The debates of 1846, the proceedings of the anti-Corn Law League in that, or in the busiest and most argumentative of its sessions preceding that year of its triumph, may be ransacked throughout, and not one argument will there be found that could add any thing to the force of Mr. O'Connell's declaration made against those laws, in the very hour of their projection, when all the evils they were calculated to produce, and which had become patent and undeniable in 1846, were as yet matters of speculation and prophecy.

This remarkable speech ends with another matter of note—one of those constantly recurring protests that Mr. O'Connell uttered from time to time throughout the whole of his long political career, against any species of compromise of the entire independence of the Catholic church.

The day on which he spoke was the 23rd of February, 1814, and the occasion was a Catholic meeting held upon that day, to consider and decide what course was to be pursued to recover Catholic rights. He is thus reported :—

MR. O'CONNELL said that he wished to submit to the meeting a resolution, calling on the different counties and cities in Ireland to petition for unqualified emancipation. It was a resolution which had been already and frequently adopted ; when we had persevered in our petitions, even at periods when we despaired of success ; and it became a pleasing duty to present them, now that the symptoms of the times seemed so powerfully to promise an approaching relief.

Indeed, as long as truth or justice could be supposed to influence man ; as long as man was admitted to be under the control of reason ; so long must it be prudent and wise to procure discussions on the sufferings and the rights of the people of Ireland. Truth proclaimed the treacherous iniquity which had deprived us of our chartered liberty ; truth destroyed the flimsy pretext under which this iniquity is continued ; truth exposed our merits and our sufferings ; whilst reason and justice combined to demonstrate our right—the right of every human being to freedom of conscience—a right without which every honest man must feel that to him, individually, the protection of government is a mockery, and the restriction of penal law a sacrilege.

Truth, reason, and justice are our advocates ; and even in England, let me tell you, that those powerful advocates have some authority. They are, it is true, more frequently resisted there than in most other countries : but yet they have some sway among the English at all times. Passion may confound, and prejudice darken the English understanding ; and interested passion and hired prejudice have been successfully employed against us at former periods ; but the present season appears

singularly well calculated to aid the progress of our cause, and to advance the attainment of our important objects.

I do not make the assertion lightly. I speak after deliberate investigation, and from solemn conviction, my clear opinion, that we shall, during the present session of parliament, obtain a portion at least, if not the entire, of our emancipation. We cannot fail, unless we are disturbed in our course by those who graciously style themselves our friends, or are betrayed by the treacherous machinations of part of our own body.

Yes, every thing, except false friendship and domestic treachery, forebodes success. The cause of man is in its great advance. Humanity has been rescued from much of its thralldom. In the states of Europe, where the iron despotism of the feudal system so long classed men into two species—the hereditary masters and the perpetual slaves; when rank supplied the place of merit, and to be humbly born operated as a perpetual exclusion;—in many parts of Europe man is reassuming his natural station, and artificial distinctions have vanished before the force of truth and the necessities of governors.

France has a representative government; and as the unjust privileges of the clergy and nobility are abolished; as she is blessed with a most wise, clear, and simple code of laws; as she is almost free from debt, and emancipated from odious prejudices, she is likely to prove an example and a light to the world.

In Germany the sovereigns who formerly ruled at their free will and caprice, are actually bribing the people to the support of their thrones, by giving them the blessings of liberty. It is a wise and a glorious policy. The Prince Regent has emancipated his Catholic subjects of Hanover, and traced for them the grand outlines of a free constitution. The other states of Germany are rapidly following the example. The people, no longer destined to bear the burdens only of society, are called up to take their share in the management of their own concerns, and in the sustentation of the public dignity and happiness. In short representative government, the only rational or just government, is proclaimed by princes as a boon to their people, and Germany is about to afford many an example of the advantages of rational liberty. Anxious as some kings appear to be in the great work of plunder and robbery, others of them are now the first heralds of freedom.

It is a moment of glorious triumph to humanity; and even one instance of liberality freely conceded, makes compensation for a thousand repetitions of the ordinary crimes of military

monarchs. The crime is followed by its own punishment ; but the great principle of the rights of man establishes itself now on the broadest basis, and France and Germany now set forth an example for England to imitate.

Italy, too, is in the paroxysms of the fever of independence. Oh, may she have strength to go through the disease, and may she rise like a giant refreshed with wine ! One thing is certain, that the human mind is set afloat in Italy. The flame of freedom burns ; it may be smothered for a season ; but all the whiskered Croats and the fierce Pandours of Austria will not be able to extinguish the sacred fire. Spain to be sure, chills the heart, and disgusts the understanding. The combined Inquisition and the court—press upon the mind, whilst they bind the body in fetters of adamant. But this despotism is, thank God, as unrelentingly absurd as it is cruel, and there arises a darling hope out of the very excess of the evil. The Spaniards must be walking corpses—they must be living ghosts, and not human beings, unless a sublime reaction be in rapid preparation. But let us turn to our own prospects.

The cause of liberty has made, and is making, great progress in states heretofore despotic. In all the countries in Europe, in which any portion of freedom prevails, the liberty of conscience is complete. England alone, of all the states pretending to be free, leaves shackles upon the human mind ; England alone, amongst free states, exhibits the absurd claim of regulating belief by law, and forcing opinion by statute. Is it possible to conceive that this gross, this glaring, this iniquitous absurdity can continue ? Is it possible, too, to conceive that it can continue to operate, not against a small and powerless sect, but against the millions, comprising the best strength, the most affluent energy of the empire ?—a strength and an energy daily increasing, and hourly appreciating their own importance. The present system, disavowed by liberalized Europe, disclaimed by sound reason, abhorred by genuine religion, must soon and for ever be abolished.

Let it not be said that the princes of the Continent were forced by necessity to give privileges to their subjects, and that England has escaped from a similar fate. I admit that the necessity of procuring the support of the people was the mainspring of royal patriotism on the Continent ; but I totally deny that the ministers of England can dispense with a similar support. The burdens of the war are permanent ; the distresses occasioned by the peace are pressing ; the financial system tottering, and to

be supported in profound peace only by a war taxation. In the meantime, the resources of corruption are mightily diminished. Ministerial influence is necessarily diminished by one-half of the effective force of indirect bribery ; full two-thirds must be disbanded. Peculation and corruption must be put upon half-pay, and no allowances. The ministry lose not only all those active partizans ; those outrageous loyalists, who fattened on the public plunder during the seasons of immense expenditure ; but those very men will themselves swell the ranks of the malcontents, and probably be the most violent in their opposition. They have no sweet consciousness to reward them in their present privations ; and therefore they are likely to exhaust the bitterness of their souls on their late employers. Every cause conspires to render this the period in which the ministry should have least inclination, least interest, least power, to oppose the restoration of our rights and liberties.

I speak not from mere theory. There exist at this moment practical illustrations of the truth of my assertions. Instances have occurred which demonstrate, as well the inability of the ministry to resist the popular voice, as the utility of re-echoing that voice, until it is heard and understood in all its strength and force. The ministers had determined to continue the property tax ; they announced that determination to their partizans at Liverpool and in Bristol. Well, the people of England met ; they petitioned ; they repeated—they reiterated their petitions, until the ministry felt they could no longer resist ; and they ungraciously, but totally, abandoned their determination ; and the property tax now expires.

Another instance is also now before us. It relates to the Corn Laws. The success of the repetition of petitions in that instance is the more remarkable, because such success has been obtained in defiance of the first principles of political economy, and in violation of the plainest rules of political justice.

This is not the place to discuss the *merits of the Corn Laws* ; but I cannot avoid, as the subject lies in my way, to put upon public record my conviction of THE INUTILITY AS WELL AS THE IMPROPRIETY OF THE PROPOSED MEASURE RESPECTING THOSE LAWS. I expect that it will be believed in Ireland that I would not volunteer thus an opposition of sentiment to any measure, if I was not most disinterestedly, and in my conscience, convinced that SUCH MEASURE WOULD NOT BE OF ANY SUBSTANTIAL OR PERMANENT UTILITY TO IRELAND.

As far as I am personally concerned, my interest plainly is to

keep up the price of lands ; but I am quite convinced that the measure in question will have an effect PERMANENTLY AND FATALLY INJURIOUS TO IRELAND. *The clamour respecting the Corn Laws has been fomented by parsons who were afraid that they would not get money enough for their tithes, and absentee landlords, who apprehended a diminution of their rack rents ; and if you observed the names of those who have taken an active part in favour of the measure, you will find amongst them many, if not all, the persons who have most distinguished themselves against the liberty and religion of the people. There have been, I know, many good men misled, and many clever men deceived, on this subject ; but the great majority are of the class of oppressors.*

There was formed, some time ago, an association of a singular nature in Dublin and the adjacent counties. Mr. Luke White was, as I remember, at the head of it. It contained some of our stoutest and most stubborn seceders : it published the causes of its institution ; it recited that, whereas butcher's meat was dearer in Cork, and in Limerick, and in Belfast than in Dublin, it was therefore expedient to associate, in order that the people of Dublin should not eat meat too cheap. Large sums were subscribed to carry the patriotic design into effect, but public indignation broke up the ostensible confederacy ; it was too plain and too glaring to bear public inspection. The indignant sense of the people of Dublin forced them to dissolve their open association ; and if the present enormous increase of the price of meat in Dublin beyond the rest of Ireland be the result of secret combination of any individuals, there is at least this comfort, that they do not presume to beard the public with the open avowal of their design to increase the difficulties of the poor in procuring food.

Such a scheme as that, with respect to meat in Dublin—such a scheme, precisely, is the sought-for corn law. The only difference consists in the extent of the operation of both plans. The *corn plan* is only more extensive, not more unjust in principle, but it is more *unreasonable in its operation*, because its *necessary tendency must be to destroy that very market of which it seeks the exclusive possession*. The *corn law men want, they say, to have the exclusive feeding of the manufacturers ; but at present, our manufacturers, loaded as they are with taxation, are scarcely able to meet the goods of foreigners in the markets of the world. The English are already undersold in foreign markets ; but, if to this dearness produced by taxation, there shall be added the dearness produced by dear food, is it not plain that it will be impossible*

to enter into a competition with foreign manufacturers, who have no taxes and cheap bread? Thus the corn laws will destroy our manufactures, and compel our manufacturers to emigrate, in spite of penalties; and the corn law supporters will have injured themselves and destroyed others.

I beg pardon for dwelling on this subject. If I were at liberty to pursue it here, I would not leave it until I had satisfied every dispassionate man, that the *proposed measure* is both USELESS AND UNJUST; but this is not the place for doing so, and I only beg to record at least the honest dictates of my judgment on this interesting topic. My argument, of the efficacy of petitioning, is strengthened by the impolicy of the measure in question; because, if petitions, by their number and perseverance, succeed in establishing a proposition impolitic in principle, and oppressive to thousands in operation, what encouragement does it not afford to us to repeat our petitions for that which has justice for its basis, and policy as its support!

The great advantages of discussion being thus apparent, the efficacy of repeating, and repeating, and repeating again our petitions being thus demonstrated by notorious facts, the Catholics of Ireland must be sunk in criminal apathy, if they neglect the use of an instrument so efficacious for their emancipation.

There is further encouragement at this particular crisis. Dissension has ceased in the Catholic body. Those who paralysed our efforts, and gave our conduct the appearance and reality of weakness, and wavering, and inconsistency, have all retired. Those who were ready to place the entire of the Catholic feelings and dignity, and some of the Catholic religion too, under the feet of every man who pleased to call himself our friend, and to prove himself our friend, by praising on every occasion, and upon no occasion, the oppressors of the Catholics, and by abusing the Catholics themselves; the men who would link the Catholic cause to this patron and to that, and sacrifice it at one time to the minister, and at another to the opposition, and make it this day the tool of one party, and the next the instrument of another party, the men, in fine, who hoped to traffic upon our country and our religion—who would buy honours, and titles, and places, and pensions, at the price of the purity, and dignity, and safety of the Catholic Church in Ireland; all those men have, thank God, quitted us, I hope for ever. They have returned into silence and secession, or have frankly or covertly gone over to our enemies. I regret deeply and bitterly that they have carried with them some few, who, like my Lord Fingal, entertain no other motives than those of

purity and integrity, and who, like that noble lord, are merely mistaken.

But I rejoice at this separation—I rejoice that they have left the single-hearted, and the disinterested, and the indefatigable, and the independent, and the numerous, and the sincere Catholics to work out their emancipation unclogged, unshackled, and undismayed. They have bestowed on us another bounty also—they have proclaimed the causes of their secession—they have placed out of doubt the cause of the divisions. It is not intemperance, for that we abandoned; it is not the introduction of extraneous topics, for those we disclaimed; it is simply and purely, *veto or no veto—restriction or no restriction—no other words*; it is religion and principle that have divided us; thanks, many thanks to the tardy and remote candour of the seceders, that has at length written in large letters *the cause of their secession—it is the Catholic Church of Ireland—it is whether that Church shall continue independent of a Protestant ministry or not. We are for its independence—the seceders are for its dependence.*

Whatever shall be the fate of our emancipation question, thank God we are divided for ever from those who would wish that our Church should crouch to the partizans of the Orange system. Thank God, secession has displayed its cloven foot, and avowed itself to be synonymous with vetoism.

Those are our present prospects of success. First, man is elevated from slavery almost every where, and human nature has become more dignified, and, I may say, more valuable. Secondly, England wants our cordial support, and knows that she has only to concede to us justice in order to obtain our affectionate assistance. Thirdly, this is the season of successful petition, and the very fashion of the times entitles our petition to succeed. Fourthly, the Catholic cause is disencumbered of hollow friends, and interested speculators. Add to all these the native and inherent strength of the principle of religious freedom, and the inert and accumulating weight of our wealth, our religion, and our numbers, and where is the sluggard that shall dare to doubt our approaching success?

Besides, even our enemies must concede to us, that we act from principle, and from principle only. We prove our sincerity when we refuse to make our emancipation a subject of traffic and barter, and ask for relief only upon those grounds which, if once established, would give to every other sect the right to the same political immunity. All we ask is “a clear stage and no favour.” We think the Catholic religion the most rationally consistent

with the divine scheme of Christianity, and therefore, all we ask is, that everybody should be left to his unbiassed reason and judgment. If Protestants are equally sincere, why do they call the law, and the bribe, and the place, and the pension, in support of their doctrines? Why do they fortify themselves behind pains, and penalties, and exclusions, and forfeitures? Ought not our opponents to feel that they degrade the sanctity of their religion, when they call in the profane aid of temporal rewards and punishments, and that they proclaim the superiority of our creed, when they thus admit themselves unable to contend against it upon terms of equality, and by the weapons of reason and argument, and persevere in refusing us all we ask—"a clear stage and no favour."

Yes, Mr. Chairman, our enemies in words and by actions, admit and proclaim our superiority. It remains to our friends alone, and to that misguided and ill-advised portion of the Catholics who have shrunk into secession—it remains for those friends and seceders alone to undervalue our exertions, and under-rate our conscientious opinions.

Great and good God, in what a cruel situation are the Catholics of Ireland placed! If they have the manliness to talk of their oppressors as the paltry bigots deserve—if they have the honesty to express, even in measured language, a small portion of the sentiments of abhorrence which peculating bigotry ought naturally to inspire—if they condemn the principle which established the inquisition in Spain, and Orange lodges in Ireland, they are assailed by the combined clamour of those parliamentary friends, and title-seeking, place-hunting seceders. The war-whoop of "*intemperance*" is sounded, and a persecution is instituted by our advocates and our seceders—against the Catholic who dares to be honest, and fearless, and independent!

But I tell you what they easily forgive—nay, what our friends, sweet souls, would vindicate to-morrow in parliament, if the subject arose there. Here it is—here is *The Dublin Journal* of the 21st of February, printed just two days ago. In the administration of Lord Whitworth, and the secretaryship of Mr. Peel, there is a government newspaper—a paper supported solely by the money of the people; for its circulation is little, and its private advertisements less. Here is a paper continued in existence like a wounded reptile, only whilst in the rays of the sun, by the heat and warmth communicated to it by the Irish administration. Let me read two passages for you. The first calls "*Poperly the deadly enemy of pure religion and rational liberty.*" Such is

the *temperate* description the writer gives of the Catholic faith. With respect to purity of religion I shall not quarrel with him. I only differ with him in point of taste ; but I should be glad to know what this creature calls rational liberty. I suppose such as existed at Lacedæmon—the dominion of Spartans over Helots—the despotism of masters over slaves, that is his rational liberty. We will readily pass so much by. But attend to this :—

“I will,” says this moderate and temperate gentleman, “*lay, before the reader such specimens of the POPISH SUPERSTITION as will convince him that the treasonable combinations cemented by oaths, and the NOCTURNAL ROBBERY AND ASSASSINATION which have prevailed for many years past in Ireland, and still exist in many parts of it, are produced as a necessary consequence by its intolerant and sanguinary principles.*”

Let our seceders—let our gentle friends who are shocked at our intemperance, and are alive to the mild and conciliating virtues of Mr. Peel, read this passage, sanctioned I may almost say, certainly countenanced by those who do the work of governing Ireland. Would to God we had but one genuine, unsophisticated friend, one real advocate in the House of Commons ! how such a man would pour down indignation on the clerks of the Castle, who pay for this base and vile defamation of our religion—of the religion of nine-tenths of the population of Ireland !

But, perhaps, I accuse falsely ; perhaps the administration of Ireland are guiltless of patronizing these calumnies ; look at the paper and determine ; it contains nearly five columns of advertisements—only one from a private person—and even that is a notice of an anti-Popery pamphlet, by a Mr. Cousins, a curate of the Established Church. Dean Swift has somewhere observed, that the poorest of all possible rats was a curate—(*much laughing*) ; and if this rat be so, if he have as usual, a large family, a great appetite, and little to eat, I sincerely hope that he may get what he wants—a fat living. Indeed for the sake of consistency, and to keep up the succession of bad pamphlets, he ought to get a living.

Well, what, think you, are the rest of the advertisements ? First, there are three from the worthy Commissioners of Wide Streets ; one dated 6th August, 1813, announcing that they would, the ensuing Wednesday, receive certain proposals. Secondly, the Barony of Middlethird is proclaimed, as of the 6th of September last, for fear the inhabitants of that barony should not as yet know they were proclaimed. Thirdly, the proclamation against the Catholic Board, dated only the 3rd day of

June last, is printed lest any person should forget the history of last year. Fourthly there is proclamation stating that gunpowder was not to be carried *coastwise* for six months, and this is dated the 5th of October last. But why should I detain you with the details of state proclamations, printed for no other purpose than as an excuse for putting so much of the public money into the pocket of a calumniator of the Catholics. The abstract of the rest is that there is one other proclamation, stating that Liverpool is a port fit for importation from the East Indies; another forbidding British subjects from serving in the American forces during the present, that is, the past war; and another stating, that although we had made peace with France, we are still at war with America, and that, therefore, no marine is to desert; and to finish the climax, there is a column and a half of extracts from several statutes; all this printed at the expense of government, that is at the expense of the people.

Look now at the species of services for which so enormous a sum of our money is thus wantonly lavished! It consists simply of calumnies against the Catholic religion—calumnies so virulently atrocious, as, in despite of the intention of the authors, to render themselves ridiculous. This hireling accuses our religion of being an enemy to liberty, of being an encourager of treason, of instigating to robbery, and producing a system of assassination. Here are libels for which no prosecution is instituted. Here are libels which are considered worthy of encouragement, and which are rewarded by the Irish treasury. And is it for this—is it to supply this waste, this abuse of public money—is it to pay for those false and foul calumnies, that we are in a season of universal peace, to be borne down with a war taxation? Are we to have two or three additional millions of taxes imposed upon us in peace, in order that this intestine war of atrocious calumny may be carried on against the religion of the people of Ireland, with all the vigour of full pay, and great plunder? Let us, agitators, be now taunted by jobbers in parliament with our violence, our intemperance. Why, if we were not rendered patient by the aid of a dignified contempt, is there not matter enough to disgust, and to irritate almost beyond endurance?

Thus are we treated by our friends, and our enemies, and our seceders; the first abandon, the second oppress, the third betray us, and they all join in calumniating us; in the last they are all combined. See how naturally they associate;—this libeller in *The Dublin Journal*, who calls the Catholic religion a system of

assassination, actually praises in the same paper, some individual Catholics; he praises, by name, Quarantotti, and my Lord Fingal (*much laughing*); and the respectable party (those are his words) who join with that noble lord.

Of Lord Fingal I shall always speak with respect, because I entertain the opinion that his motives are pure and honourable; but can anything, or at least ought anything place his secession in so strong a point of view to the noble lord himself, as to find that he and his party are praised by the very man who, in the next breath, treats his religion as a system of assassination. Let that party have all the enjoyment which such praises can confer; but if a spark of love for their religion or their country remains with them, let them recollect that they could have earned those praises only by having, in the opinion of this writer, betrayed the one, and degraded the other.

This writer, too, attempts to traduce Lord Donoughmore. He attacks his lordship in bad English, and worse Latin, for having, as he says, cried *peccavi* to Popish thralldom. But the ignorant trader in virulence knew not how to spell that single Latin word, because they do not teach Latin at the charter schools.

I close with conjuring the Catholics to persevere in their present course.

Let us never tolerate the slightest inroad on the discipline of our ancient, our holy Church. Let us never consent that she should be made the hireling of the ministry. Our forefathers would have died, nay, they perished in hopeless slavery, rather than consent to such degradation.

Let us rest upon the barrier where they expired, *or go back into slavery, rather than forward into irreligion and disgrace!* Let us also advocate our cause on the two great principles—first, that of an eternal separation in spirituals between our Church and the state; secondly, that of *the eternal right to freedom of conscience*—a right which, I repeat it with pride and pleasure, would exterminate the Inquisition in Spain, and bury in oblivion the bloody orange flag of dissension in Ireland!

Mr. O'Connell concluded by moving his resolution, calling on the several counties to petition.

With reference to the matters touched upon in the concluding part of the speech just given, we may, in passing, record that the spring and summer of 1815 witnessed many proofs that the heart of Ireland was sound; and in August of the same year the public mind was cheered by the following declaration of the bishops:—

“At a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, held in Dublin, on the 23rd and 24th of August, 1815, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to—the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, president:—

“RESOLVED—That it is our decided and conscientious conviction that any power granted to the crown of Great Britain, of interfering directly or indirectly, in the appointment of Bishops for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert, the Roman Catholic religion in this country.

“RESOLVED—That, with this conviction deeply and unalterably impressed on our minds, we should consider ourselves as betraying the dearest interests of that portion of the Church which the Holy Ghost has confided to our care, did we not declare, most unequivocally, that we will at all times, and under all circumstances, deprecate and oppose, in every canonical and constitutional way, any such interference

“RESOLVED—Though we sincerely venerate the supreme pontiff as visible head of the Church, we do not conceive that our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland can or ought to be removed by any determination of his Holiness, adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions, and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray; who, in that quality, was more competent to inform his Holiness of the real state and interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, than any other with whom he is said to have consulted.

“RESOLVED—That a declaration of these our sentiments, respectful, firm, and decided, be transmitted to the Holy See, which, we trust, will engage his Holiness to feel and acknowledge the justness and propriety of this our determination.

“RESOLVED—That our grateful thanks are due, and hereby given, to the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, and the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, our late deputies to Rome, for their zealous and able discharge of the trust reposed in them.

“OLIVER KELLY, President.

“Richard O'Reilly.

J. T. Troy.

Thomas Bray, Cashel, (proxy).

P. Everard, Coad. Cashel.

D. Murray, Coad. Dublin.

Pat. Jos. Plunket, Meath.

William Coppinger, Cloyne.

Thomas Costelloe, Clonfert.

Charles Sughrue, Kerry.

John Power, Waterford.

Charles O'Donnell, Derry.

John O'Flinn, Achonry.

Peter Waldron, Killala.

James O'Shaughnessy, Killaloe.

Farrell O'Reilly, Kilmore.

P. Ryan, Ferns.

Charles Tuohy, Limerick

G. Plunket, Elphin.

John Murphy, Cork.

Patrick M'Mullen, Down and Connor

Kyran Marum, Ossory.

Peter M'Loughlin, Raphoe.

James Murphy, Clogher.

Edmund Derry, Dromore.

Mich. Corcoran, Elect, Kildare and

Leighlin.

James M'Gauran, Elect. Ardagh.

Edmond Fyrench, Warden of Galway.”

This document drew from the Catholic laity the following expressions of gratitude and delight:—

“CATHOLIC AGGREGATE MEETING.*

“TUESDAY, 29TH AUGUST, 1815.

“RESOLVED—That we deem it our first and most pleasing duty to express, in the strongest terms which our language can afford, our perfect confidence in, and esteem and veneration for, and gratitude to the most reverend and right reverend the Catholic prelates of Ireland; and these our unanimous sentiments are deeply and everlastingly impressed on our minds, by their firm, manly, and decided condemnation of any measure, giving to the crown, or the servants of the crown, any control whatsoever over the appointment of our bishops, inasmuch as any such measure must necessarily tend to destroy our religion, and also materially injure the civil rights and liberties of the people of Ireland, of all classes and denominations.

“RESOLVED—That our chairman be requested to transmit, in terms of the most affectionate respect, our most cordial gratitude to those learned, exemplary, and pious clergymen, Archdeacon Blake, Doctors Lube and Darcy, and to the other reverend and estimable clergymen of the second order of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy, who have concurred with them in constant and unqualified opposition to the abhorred veto in all its shapes and forms.

“RESOLVED—That we cannot omit this occasion to publish to the world the fervent tribute of our lively gratitude and most profound reverence for the officiating Catholic priests of Ireland; a class of men uniformly distinguished by the most unremitting zeal and activity, and by the most incessant charity and disinterested purity, in discharge of their sacred duties;—men whom no dangers have terrified, no persecution has ever deterred, no seduction has ever led astray, and no temptation could ever bribe, from the faithful discharge of their duties; and who have obtained, as they have well deserved, the heart-felt admiration of all the persons of their own persuasion, and the decided approbation of the liberal and enlightened of every other religion.

“RESOLVED—That the Catholics of Ireland having, on their solemn oath, declared that the Pope has not, and ought not to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; we cannot, without exposing ourselves and our religion to just derision and reproach, and also without incurring the dreadful guilt of perjury, consent to any arrangement by which the British minister may derive from the Court of Rome any jurisdiction or power over the transactions in civil life, and conduct in temporal affairs, of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, and that our resistance to any such arrangements, instead of operating in our disfavour in the mind of any just and rational statesman, ought, on the contrary, to convince him that we deserve liberty, as well because such conduct furnishes one more powerful instance of their conscientious

* These resolutions were drawn up by Mr. O'Connell.

adherence to the obligation of an oath, as because it proves that we practically distinguish the spiritual authority of his Holiness the Pope, which we always fully recognise, from any civil or temporal power or authority in him, or derived from him, which we disclaim, and would, if necessary, resist at the peril of our lives."

When the fourth resolution was put, Mr. O'Connell came forward and spoke at considerable length. The following is the best extract we can give of his speech:—

This, said he, is a day of gratulation and triumph. The sentiments of delight which we experience are pure and unmixed. Our great cause is at length placed on its proper basis. Win or lose, we are sure our religion cannot suffer. Our question is now stripped of all the intricacies and details in which it was involved by false friends and perfidious co-operators. It reduces itself simply and singly to this—shall we be emancipated as Catholics, or as Catholics continue slaves?

Every attempt to barter religion for liberty—every scheme to traffic upon our faith, for civil benefits, is destroyed for ever and this additional advantage results among ourselves, that the unanimity of the Irish Catholics is now secure from all danger. As one great mass of weight and consistency, we should now proceed towards the attainment of liberty. The seceders are deprived of every excuse, of every colour or pretext for division. No man who continues to secede, can pretend to sincerity as a Catholic, or purity as an Irishman.

The secession originated in the concealed desire to facilitate the ministerial arrangements with the Pope and the bishops. Secession was afterwards justified on the avowed grounds of permitting such arrangements to take place unimpeded by the laity; but now that those arrangements are impossible—now that the bishops have declared their irrevocable opposition—now that they have declared that ministerial interference **MUST ESSENTIALLY INJURE, AND MAY DESTROY** the Catholic religion in Ireland; where is the man who can get credit for his pretence of being a Catholic, who still continues his secession, to favour that which the highest and most revered authority has told him must essentially injure, and may destroy his religion? Oh no, if the seceders be sincere, and some, at least, amongst them, I am at present convinced are so—if they be honest, they will now send in their adhesion, and rejoin the ranks of their struggling countrymen.

It is unnecessary, I am sure, to prove that no seceder can now lay claim to pure devotion to his country. They cannot require us to believe that they are honest as politicians, or faithful as Irishmen, whilst they endeavour to add to the corrupt

influence of Lord Castlereagh, and strive to increase the power in Ireland of the worthy champion of Orangeism—Mr. Peel. (At the mention of Mr. Peel's name there was much laughing.)

You mistake me, said Mr. O'Connell. I do not—indeed, I do not intend this day to enter into the merits of that celebrated statesman. All I shall say of him, by way of parenthesis, is, that I am told he has in my absence, and in a place where he was privileged from any account, grossly traduced me. I said, at the last meeting, in the presence of the note-takers of the police, who are paid by him, that he was too prudent to attack me in my presence. I see the same police informers here now, and I authorize them carefully to report these my words, that Mr. Peel would not DARE, in my presence, or in any place where he was liable to personal account, use a single expression derogatory to my interest, or my honour. And now I have done with the man, who is just fit to be nothing but the champion of Orangeism. I have done with him, perhaps for ever.

I return to our proper topic of joy and exultation!

Our prelates have amply justified the veneration in which they are held. Never were there men more respected and revered. No men ever deserved so much respect and reverence. But the gratitude they have merited, and the triumph they have won, is rendered doubly delightful by its being exclusively Irish. It belongs to Irishmen alone; not a foreigner has any claim to it.

Our church was either betrayed or sold to the British minister at Vienna; indeed, the exact amount of price is stated to be eleven thousand guineas. Though a cardinal, the agent was not a priest. Quarantotti, and Cardinal Litta, were, of course, foreigners. Then the next class in the arrangement of the veto are the English Catholic bishops. First of all, I must mention a name that ought not, perhaps, though it will surprise you—Doctor Milner. Yes; Doctor Milner has performed another truly English revolution. He was the first to broach the veto. He came to Ireland on a vetoistical mission; the Irish rejected the mission and the missionary. He then recanted his errors—renounced his first opinions—abjured them—and we sustained him for his anti-vetoistical principle.

Well, what has occurred now? Why, Doctor Milner has gone round again, and has actually written to the bishops to accede to Litta's plan of veto. Milner's letter was read at the synod; it was, I understand, an official document; of its contents I can give you certainly an abstract, because its contents

have been communicated to me by one of our prelates, whose name, if necessary, I am at full liberty to use. His letter requested of the bishops to accede to the new plan of veto. It stated that the government would not be satisfied with so little; that it would require more; and, therefore, concluded the candid prelate, you may with safety accede to his plan; it will never be brought into operation, and you will have the grace of showing your acquiescence, without any danger to the Church. (Loud laughter.)

But well knowing that there was something in the Irish understanding that would scorn such advice, he proceeded to state and to solve the following ingenious dilemma:—"Either (says his letter) the candidate for episcopacy in Ireland will be disloyal, or he will not be disloyal. If he be disloyal, we would all (continues Doctor Milner) be rejoiced that he lost the bishopric." Now, I beg just to inquire the meaning of the word disloyalty. In this country it generally means disinterested attachment to the rights and liberty of Ireland. The more honest, zealous, and pure is the love of any man for his native land, the more certain he is of being charged with disloyalty; whilst on the other hand, we see plunder, and torture, and murder called loyalty. But mark, I pray you, how Doctor Milner treats the other horn of the dilemma. "If (says he) the candidate be a loyal man, and that the British ministry shall strike out his name, on a suspicion of his disloyalty, he will have an excellent action at law against the British minister." Yes; an action at law by an Irish parish priest or friar against the prime minister of England, for exercising a discretionary power vested in him!

The most zealous apostle of the veto is another English prelate (Doctor Poynter). Poor man! his principal means of support depended on the uncertain gratuity of a few of the upper class (as they are called) of English Papists; he would prefer the more solid engagement of a permanent pension from government. He exerted every nerve to carry this ruinous measure.

"You owe all your safety and success to the Catholic bishops of Ireland. They have defeated every argument; they have withstood every seduction; they have disappointed every unhallowed expectation. What an idle pretext is this anxiety to ascertain their loyalty! I challenge the calumniators of every class—calumny prospers in Ireland—it is the best trade going. Well, I challenge the host of calumniators to point out a single instance in which, since the Revolution, an Irish Catholic bishop was charged with disloyalty.

Away with this vile pretence ; it is political power the minister wants. He desires, too, to get rid of your religion, because it is troublesome ; but his great object is to increase his influence—to enlarge the number of his retainers—to give corruption a more extended sphere of action, that the very name of liberty may be blotted out, and ministerial management take the place of constitutional control. We have opposed the veto as Catholics ; our worst fears have been confirmed by the decisive authorities of the bishops. Their words contain such a justification of our resistance that I must repeat them. They say—"It must essentially injure, and may subvert, the Catholic religion in Ireland." As Catholics, then, do I say to all the subjects of the empire, we are bound to resist this measure. This is our vindication—our full justification.

But it has always been odious to me on another account. If I were a Protestant by education and from conviction, as I am a Catholic by education and from conviction, I declare to God I should equally oppose and resist the veto. Every enlightened and liberal Protestant ought to thank us for our opposition ; for what enlightened man is there who does not see the frightful progress of corrupt influence, where direct dominion would be resisted and overthrown ? Corruption eats its silent way ; it devours the vitals of the state, whilst it allows the outward forms and shapes to retain the appearances of pristine strength and vigour. The parliament, more than thirty years ago, declared that "the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." Alas ! from that day to this, the evil has only accumulated ; no attempt at a remedy has been entertained. Who is the honest man that could put his hand to his heart, and say, that this influence has not swept away the most valuable part of that for which the English of old fought, and bled, and died—constitutional liberty ? And can such a man, thus convinced, allow the minister to take, at one sweep, all the influence of another Church ? No man who values the safety of what remains to us of the constitution, can assent to the gratuitous bestowing of more energy on the disease which undermines the constitution.

There is, however, a more pressing view of this danger, which arises when we behold the present state of Ireland. She has no parliament of her own ; there is little of interest, and less of sympathy for the complaints of Ireland in that of England. What grievance has the imperial parliament redressed ?—what inconvenience has it remedied ? Let those who can, inform us

when have our prayers been listened to. *The very remoteness of that parliament renders the sound of our complaints weak and inefficient.*

This is a topic which I would fain dwell upon ; but, alas ! to bewail our misfortunes in the language of truth may be crime ; and to speak historically of the practical evils that have flowed from the Union, would probably be punished by the very men who themselves loudly foretold the very calamities which we endure, and which they sometimes now inflict. *But this very apprehension of talking the truth serves only to prove how dismal would the prospect of liberty be, if in every Catholic diocese in Ireland there were an active partisan of the minister, and in every Catholic parish an active informer.* Who is it that is ignorant of the present plan of patronage in Ireland ? Why, have I not myself been the means of promoting many and many an adventurer ? I have actually promoted more than one clergyman of the Established Church, and our cause has promoted many of them. To instance only one, there is the rectory of Clane, in the county of Kildare, which ought to be placed to my credit. A reverend parson, of the name of Thorpe, wrote as ill-constructed a pamphlet as it is possible to imagine, to abuse me. The subject ought, I think, to have enlivened the man ; it was dull, indeed—but it was virulent, and he was immediately rewarded with the living of Clane. There is Elrington, the provost, too ; how many a man of genius, taste, and learning in college was overlooked when he was promoted from his retirement ! The public were astonished. Who could account for this promotion, when there were so many in college and about college more suited to the dignity ? But it was recollected that he had written a pamphlet or book against the Papists, and either dedicated or sent it to the Duke of Cumberland, who is one of the greatest patrons of the Established Church in Ireland, and Chancellor of our University. Oh ! a pamphlet against Popery ! The provostship was little enough for him. But did any body ever read the pamphlet through ? If I had to sentence one of our worst enemies, I should not desire a more malignant sentence than to condemn him to the reading, distinctly and without omission, the entire of that pamphlet. Human nature, I fear, could not bear it.

Need I point out to you the regular plan of county patronage in Ireland ? Shall I trouble you with the well-known details ? The Catholic bishop would become one of the appendages of the county patron ; and, if he should, against all expectation, prove

ungrateful or refractory, means would easily be found to get rid of him. If we allow the minister to appoint our bishop, it would follow that the minister would soon procure a law to authorize him to cashier the bishop, when necessary, as well as to make him. It would indeed follow, from the principle, that the minister was to regulate the loyalty of the bishop.

If he was to prevent a disloyal priest from being a bishop, surely he ought to have the power to turn off a man who had obtained a mitre by pretending to be loyal, and who afterwards proved disloyal. Every person who granted the first, must admit the fair and obvious necessity of the second. And if, in addition to all his other influence, this authority were given to the minister and his dependents, where would the torrent of corruption be stayed, or where could resistance against any future plan for the establishment of arbitrary power be hoped for?

I do, therefore, deprecate the veto, as an Irishman. As an ardent and enthusiastic lover of liberty, I detest it, and would oppose it at every peril. In both capacities, as Catholics and as Irishmen, we will ever resist it; and, placing on our banners the sacred words "religion" and "liberty," wage an eternal war against the open enemies and insidious foes of both. (Hear, hear, hear!—great applause.)

The veto is defeated, and for ever; but the question then arises, whether we shall ever be emancipated without it? I have been asked this question; my reply has been: we shall not, perhaps—probably we shall. But if we are not, we shall, at all events, have preserved our religion and our honour. If we continue in an unjust inferiority of political station, we shall, at least, remain sincere Catholics and faithful Irishmen. We may not be able "to command success;" but we will have done more—"we will have deserved it."

We have refuted every calumny; we have practically disproved every objection; we have shown how powerless the Pope is to alter, without the assent of our bishops, the discipline of the Church. And we now exhibit the determination, which we have always avowed, to resist any measures originating in Rome, of a political tendency or aspect. I know of no foreign prince whom, in temporal matters, the Catholics of Ireland would more decidedly resist, than the Pope; and this whilst they respected and recognised his spiritual authority. (Hear, hear, hear.)

But we will—we must succeed. If there be an over-ruling Providence in heaven—if there be justice or wisdom on earth,

we ought to expect success. Our liberties were not lost in any disastrous battle. Our rights were not won from us in any field of fight. No; our ancestors surrendered upon capitulation. A large army—many fortresses—a country devoted to them—foreign assistance at hand; all these our ancestors surrendered, on the faith of a solemn treaty, which stipulated, in return, for Ireland, “liberty of conscience.” The treaty was ratified—it passed the great seal of England; it was observed—yes, it was observed by English fidelity—just seven weeks. Our claim of contract has not been worn out by time. The obligation on England is not barred by a century of injustice and oppression.

It has been attributed to the bigotry of the Catholics of Brabant and Flanders, that they have rejected the new constitution of the Netherlands, because it favoured religious liberty. Absurd calumny! They were, it is known, attached to the government of Napoleon, who established universal liberty of conscience; but there were many and many Irish colleges and convents in Brabant and Flanders. The inhabitants had been practically informed of the breach of faith—of the violation of solemn treaty by the first Prince of Orange who reigned over Catholic Ireland. What was so natural as that they should entertain fears lest a breach of faith, a violation of treaty should signalize the first prince of that same House of Orange that was to reign over Catholic Brabant.

We are not, I repeat it, overthrown in battle. Our oppression originated in injustice. It has not been justified by any subsequent crime or delinquency on our parts. For a century and a half of sufferings, we have exhibited a fidelity unaltered and unalterable. Our allegiance to the state has been equalled only by our attachment to the faith of our fathers. But we now present the extraordinary spectacle of men at one and the same time the reproach of the justice, and the refuge and succour in danger, of the British empire. Let the hardiest of our opponents say what that empire would now be but for the Catholics of Ireland.

Thus do the Catholics urge their claims. They complain of original injustice; they insist on present merits; they require the aid of, and they place their emancipation on, the great principle of the universal right of liberty of conscience; they call on England to behold *a prelacy promoted from their superior merits, and rendering illustrious their superior station by the unobtrusive but continued exertion of all the labours and all the vir-*

tues that could ornament and dignify episcopacy. (Great and long-continued applause.)

They call on England to behold a priesthood having no other motives but their sense of religion ; *seeking no other reward but the approbation of their own consciences ; learned, pious, and humble ;* always active in the discharge of their duties ; *teaching the young, comforting the old, instructing the ignorant, restraining the vicious, encouraging the good, discountenancing and terrifying the criminal—visiting the hovel of poverty, soothing the pangs of sickness and of sorrow, showing the path to heaven and themselves leading the way.* (Repeated bursts of applause.)

They call on England to behold a *people faithful even under persecution—grateful for a pittance of justice—cheerful under oppressive taxation—foremost in every battle,* and giving an earnest of their allegiance and attachment to a government which they could love, by their attachment to the religion which they revere—proving, by their exclusion and sufferings, their practical reverence for the obligation of an oath : and by their anxiety to be admitted into the full enjoyment of the constitution, how powerfully they appreciate the enjoyment of civil liberty. Such a people as this—distinguishing at one and the same time spiritual authority, which is not of this world, from temporal power, which belongs to it—giving to God the things which are God's, but preserving to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's—such a nation as this, prelates, priests and people, demand, with manly firmness, but with decent respect, their birthright—LIBERTY, their honest earning : that which they maintain with their money, and sustain with their blood—the CONSTITUTION.

Such are the persons who require emancipation ; such is the nature of their claim. Shall I be told, then, by interested bigotry, that the people of England cannot, in conscience, grant our demands ? Conscience, indeed ! Oh, let the English conscience consult justice, and we shall soon be free. But the objection is futile and ridiculous. Why, there are now upwards of five hundred different sects in England, and our demands favour every one, except the Established Church ; for all we ask is liberty and conscience. We do not ask—we would not take peculiar privileges or individual advantages ; we ask that religion should be left between man and his Creator, and that conscience should be free.

Let me, however, read for you the extract of English conscience and liberality, where Ireland is unconcerned. The other day the British forces conquered the King of Candy A treaty was, on

the 2nd of March last, signed between the British officers, the representatives of our King, on the one part, and the principal Candians, on the other. It is the charter by which the sovereignty of the state is vested in the crown ; it has been accepted and confirmed by the Prince Regent, and is now law in the island of Ceylon. The fifth article of this treaty is in these words :—

“The religion of BOODHO, which is professed by the chiefs and by the inhabitants of these provinces, IS DECLARED INVIOLEABLE, and its rites, ministers, and places of worship are to be MAINTAINED AND PROTECTED.”

There are inviolability, maintenance, and protection, for the state religion of Boodhoo, and English conscience is not shocked. Here is the Mirth Avater, or incarnation of Vishnou, protected by the British government, maintained in all its attributes, and declared inviolable ; we shall have learned dissertations, printed at the British expense, showing his powers and glory ; proving him to be the Godanna of one district, and the Fohi of the Chinese ; and perhaps a controversy may arise again, whether he be not the identical Woden whom one class of the mongrel ancestry of England worshipped.

Mark, too, that there is here no veto—no nomination by the crown talked of. The emancipation of the Candians is full and unqualified : and then we are told that conscience will prevent the full and unqualified emancipation of Catholic and unchristian Irishmen.

Believe me, however, that your emancipation is not remote or uncertain. The history of the world is not over. A fortnight might place an Alexander on the throne of Napoleon : and as his power is already overwhelming, I rejoice that he is of the Greek Church, lest we should be put on our securities as to him.

No ; the history of the world is not over. It is true that legitimacy and autocracy, and all other invasions on popular rights and free choice, are for a season triumphant, The title of deliverer has become synonymous with a partitioner and plunderer. Royal declarations are only public demonstrations of the pretences which cover purposes of guile of another description.

But the spirit, the genius of liberty survives. Man cannot, with the knowledge he has acquired, and the examples he beholds, continue in slavery. The people cannot, even in despotic states, be despised ; but in a free state, like that of England, five millions cannot continue in thralldom. Who does not perceive how fast our multitudes increase—how rapidly our strength

accumulates? See within the last twenty years how we have risen from a horde of helots to a nation. Even the union, which destroyed our country, increased our importance and our numbers. England wants us, and may easily gain us. Let her act as she has done by the Candians; let her leave inviolate the religion which the chiefs and the people of Ireland possess; and we will, in return, support her by our unbroken strength, and sustain her with our young blood, in every distress and through every peril!

Mr. O'Connell sat down cheered by most rapturous applause.

On Wednesday, the 8th of September, Mr. O'Connell moved—at a meeting of the "*Catholic Association*," as it was called—for a committee of seven to go round the different parishes to collect subscriptions towards defraying the expenses of the deputation about to proceed to Rome on the "securities" question.

Mr. O'Connell himself, with Messrs. Mahon, M'Donnell, Evans, and Lyons, were appointed to draw up a remonstrance to his Holiness the Pope.

The clerical deputation consisted of His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy (late Bishop of Cork), and Archdeacon Blake, the last named being now the much respected and beloved Bishop of Dromore.

On the 14th September appeared a letter from the Right Rev. Dr. Milner (in answer to Mr. O'Connell's allusions to him in a speech we have given some pages back), repeating his disclaimers of vetoistical inclinations.

The following remonstrance to the Pope was drawn up by Mr. O'Connell and adopted by the Catholic body:—

"TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS VII.

"THE HUMBLE ADDRESS AND REMONSTRANCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

"MOST HOLY FATHER—We, the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, most humbly approach your Holiness, imploring for five millions of faithful children, the apostolical benediction.

"We desire, Most Holy Father, to address your Holiness in respectful and unreserved terms; that so your Holiness may be perfectly informed of our fears, our desires, and our determinations.

"We deem it unnecessary, Most Holy Father, to remind the Sovereign Pontiff of our Church, of our peculiar claims to his protection and support; for we cannot, for a moment, imagine that your Holiness is unmindful of the constancy and devotion manifested towards the Holy See by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in despite of the most sanguinary and unrelenting persecution that ever aggrieved a Christian people.

"We cannot, however, abstain from reminding our Most Holy Father, that although the persecution which we and our ancestors endured, was notoriously and avowedly inflicted upon

us, on account of our adherence to, and connexion with, the Holy See ; nevertheless, the Roman Catholics of Ireland never solicited the predecessors of your Holiness, at any period of that persecution, to alter, in the slightest degree, that connexion, or make any modification of the existing discipline of our holy Church, to obtain for the Roman Catholics of Ireland, the repeal or mitigation of those cruel laws which proscribed them.

“With sentiments of most sincere sorrow, we have heard that, notwithstanding the uniform manifestations of our spiritual attachment to the Holy See, it has pleased your Holiness to favour a measure which would enable a Protestant government to control the appointment of our prelates ; against which the Catholic voice of Ireland has protested, and ever will protest with one accord. No spiritual grounds are alleged for the proposed alteration in our ecclesiastical system ; it is not pretended that it would advance the interests of religion, or improve the morality of the Catholic people of Ireland ; on the contrary, it is proposed in opposition to the well known and declared opinions of our spiritual guides, and is offered as an exchange or barter for some temporal aid or concession ; it therefore becomes our duty, as Catholics and as subjects, to state, in most explicit terms, our sentiments upon it.

“It is considered right to assure your Holiness, in the first instance, that although the penal laws, which were framed for the oppression of the Catholics of Ireland, have been considerably relaxed during the reign of our present most gracious sovereign ; nevertheless, the hostility to our holy religion continues to exist in full force ; and every artifice is practised, and every inducement held out, to seduce the Irish Catholic from the practice and profession of his religion. Rewards are given to every Catholic clergyman who apostatizes from his faith ; public schools and hospitals are maintained, at great expense, in which hostility to the creed and character of Roman Catholics constitutes the first principle of instruction ; commissioners are appointed to prevent Catholic institutions receiving any benefit from the donations of pious persons ; societies are established, under the favour of our rulers, for proselytizing the Catholic poor ; and bribes offered and given to Catholic parents, for the purchase of their children's faith ; at the same time, that every effort of bribery and corruption is exerted to influence Roman Catholic schoolmasters to seduce the Roman Catholic children entrusted to their care, from an attachment to their creed. Every member of the legislature, every minister of the

government, every judge of the land, every superior naval, military, or civil officer, and almost every individual in official station, is obliged to swear, and has actually sworn, in the following words, viz. :—‘ I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever ; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous ; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose, by the Pope, or any authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void from the beginning.’

“ It is to persons who have taken these offensive oaths of hostility against our holy religion, that we are now required, Most Holy Father to confide the selection and appointment of the prelates of our Church ; and thus, the efforts of persecution having been found unsuccessful, it is now sought to accomplish, by intrigue, the destruction of that Church, whose pre-eminent perfection has excited the jealousy and the hatred of our religious opponents.

“ We cannot suffer ourselves to suppose that your Holiness would knowingly sanction so pernicious a measure ; for, it is our decided conviction, that any such concession to our Protestant Prince, or to his Protestant ministers, of a right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the appointment of our prelates, would inevitably destroy the Catholic religion in Ireland. Its first consequence would be, a general indignant revolt against the framers or favourers of the detested system, without regard to rank or station ; and it is not difficult to imagine that so lamentable a breach would lead to such a state of distrust and

dissatisfaction, as might end in the dissolution of that confidential connexion, in spiritual concerns, which at present so happily subsists between the Holy See and the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The prelates and priesthood would be shunned and despised ; the altars and confessionals would be deserted ; a state of irreligion and immorality would succeed in the place of the religious and moral conduct which at present distinguishes the people of Ireland ; public disorders and private misfortunes would follow, and our neglected Church would become an easy prey to those who now labour for the extirpation of the Roman Catholic faith from this nation.

“We desire to assure your Holiness that the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland feel, towards their prelates and their priests, the most enthusiastic esteem and attachment ; they look up to them not merely as spiritual guides, but also as confidential friends and faithful advisers. The trials of persecution created a system of mutual affection and support, which enabled each to bear up against the severities of sanguinary laws. These mutual services are not forgotten ; the sentiments which they generated remain unchanged ; and, therefore, we never can consent that our pure and pious hierarchy should be contaminated by such a connexion, as must endanger their just influence, and render them objects of dislike and distrust among their faithful flocks.

“These are some of the results expected by the favourers of the proposed measure, to follow its enactment ; but there are other objects also in their contemplation. They seek, and ardently desire, to destroy the spiritual authority of the Holy See in this country ; and we are confident that their expectations would be ultimately fulfilled, if they could establish the desired revolution in our ecclesiastical system ; because experience has taught us, that wherever any interference of the ministers of the British crown has been allowed, they have ultimately succeeded in obtaining absolute and exclusive control.

“Your Holiness must be sensible of the injustice of the imputations directed against our venerable hierarchy, by those persons who express a desire to provide further securities for their peaceable and loyal conduct. Their correspondence with the Holy See is, of course, open to the inspection of your Holiness ; and we entertain no doubt but they may, with perfect safety to their political characters, challenge the most scrutinizing and jealous reference to the communications which constitute that correspondence. Again, their conduct at home is watched with more than common vigilance ; the most trifling

instance of disaffection would be gladly exposed, and yet their characters not only remain unimpeached, but the highest officers of the crown resident in this island have borne testimony to their loyalty, and to their laudable exercise of that influence which their station and conduct had obtained for them, over their respective flocks. The ministers of the crown are already invested with ample powers to correct any subject or stranger who may disobey the laws; and no instance has occurred in this country, of any man, of any station, having escaped punishment, in consequence of the insufficiency of the existing laws to provide for his correction.

“Neither should it be forgotten that our venerable prelates are bound, by most solemn oaths, to observe strictly loyal and peaceable conduct; of which oaths we annex copies hereunto, and humbly submit them to the inspection and consideration of your Holiness. And we are, therefore, confident that this demand for further securities is not founded upon any apprehension of the existence of a necessity for them; but that it has originated solely from a desire to enable the enemies of our holy religion, by the admission of such interference and encroachments, to accomplish the destruction of a Church which they have so long ineffectually assailed.

“We feel that we should be wanting in the practice of that candour, which it is our pride to profess, were we not further to inform your Holiness that we have ever considered our claims for political emancipation to be founded upon principles of civil policy. We seek to obtain from our government nothing more than the restoration of temporal rights; and must, most humbly, but most firmly, protest against the interference of your Holiness, or any other foreign prelate, state, or potentate, in the control of our temporal conduct, or in the arrangement of our political concerns.

“We, therefore, deem it unnecessary, Most Holy Father, to state to your Holiness the manifold objections of a political nature which we feel towards the proposed measure. We have confined ourselves, in this memorial, to the recapitulation of objections, founded upon spiritual considerations; because, as on the one hand we refuse to submit our religious concerns to the control of our temporal chief; so, on the other hand, we cannot admit any right, on the part of the Holy See, to investigate our political principles, or to direct our political conduct; it being our earnest desire and fixed determination to conform, at all times, and under all circumstances, to the injunctions of

that sacred ordinance which teaches us to distinguish between spiritual and temporal authority, giving unto Cæsar those things which belong to Cæsar, and unto God those things which belong to God.

“Thus, then, Most Holy Father, it appears—while this obnoxious measure is opposed by every order of our hierarchy, that we, for whose relief it purports to provide, feel equally ardent and determined in our resistance to it; solemnly declaring, as we now do, that we would prefer the perpetuation of our present degraded state in the empire, to any such barter, or exchange, or compromise of our religious fidelity and perseverance.

“We, therefore, implore your Holiness not to sanction a measure so obnoxious to the most faithful and disinterestedly attached portion of the universal flock. Our hostility is founded on experience and observation; whereas, the remote situation of your Holiness renders it necessary that the Holy See should rely upon the representations of others, who may have been interested in the practice of delusion or deceit; for the Roman Catholics of Ireland never can believe, that their revered pontiff, who had endured so much of suffering in maintenance of his spiritual station, would, knowingly and intentionally, invade or oppress the conscientious feelings of a Catholic people, who had endured nearly three centuries of persecution, in consequence of their devotion to the same religious system.

“If this our determination be erroneous, we should regret that we and our ancestors had not long since discovered the error; as the Catholics of Ireland could, by making such sacrifices, have already obtained relief from the penal code which oppressed them. But, we do not lament our perseverance; on the contrary, we are confirmed in our conviction, that a conscientious adherence to the same course will ultimately obtain the approval of the Holy See, and ensure the admiration of every faithful member of the Christian Church.

“If it shall please our temporal rulers to impose this obnoxious regulation upon us, we must bow down our heads before the ordinance of the All-Seeing Providence; and, humbly confiding in his merciful protection, meet this new trial with the same religious spirit as has enabled us to survive every similar persecuting provisions. Grievously, indeed, would we lament, if our enemies should succeed in alienating the mind of your Holiness from so many millions of faithful children. Should it, however, unhappily appear that the influence of our oppo-

nents is more powerful than the prayers of such a people, we would still proceed in the course which practice and persecution have tried and proved.

“ We will not, however, anticipate so calamitous and so portentous a determination on the part of your Holiness ; we will rather cherish our accustomed confidence in the Holy See, and resting on the benign Providence of the Divine Founder of our faith, we will look forward to such a determination on the part of your Holiness, as will allay our religious anxieties ; preserve, undisturbed, the peace of a Church enthusiastically devoted to its spiritual chief ; and thereby perpetuate, by indissoluble bonds, the spiritual connexion which has been so long maintained between the See of Rome and the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

“ For these purposes, and with these views, we lay this our humble address and remonstrance at the feet of your Holiness; praying a favourable consideration ; and again imploring the apostolical benediction.

“ THOMAS ESMONDE, Chairman.

“ EDWARD HAY, Secretary.

“ I certify that the above address and remonstrance was framed by the Association of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, pursuant to the directions of the aggregate meeting, held on Tuesday, the 29th day of August last.

“ NICHOLAS MAHON,

“ Chairman of the Association.

“ Dublin, September 16th, 1815.”

The foregoing address was duly forwarded to Rome ; but after a period of vexatious delays and inconclusive negotiations, the fact came to be known that it would not be received there officially ; as that would be taken to be a formal recognition of the right of lay interference in a matter held by many authorities to be exclusively of an ecclesiastical nature.

There is nothing that need delay us in the records of the popular struggle during the remainder of 1815, or the early part of the succeeding year.

In January, indeed, of that year, the “ seceders,” as the *soi-disant* aristocratic party of the Catholics were generally designated, showed some activity in giving trouble ; and in that and the following month, the strange and discouraging spectacle was more than once presented to the Irish public, of *two distinct* meetings of Catholics in the metropolis ; the seceders at Lord Trimleston’s house ; and the “ Catholic Association,” at Fitzpatrick’s, in Capel street ; the first resolving to entrust their “ *emancipation-with-securities*” petition to Mr. Grattan in the Commons ; the other equally resolving to entrust their “ *unconditional emancipation*” petition to Sir H. Parnell. Both chose the same person in the Lords—Lord Donoughmore—to present their respective petitions in the upper house.

On Tuesday, 5th March, 1816, an aggregate meeting of the Catholics took place in the present Church of St. Teresa, Clarendon-street. The following resolutions passed.

“ RESOLVED—That the Most Rev. and Right Rev. the Catholic prelates of Ireland, at a meeting held by them in the city of Dublin,

on the 23rd and 24th of August, 1815, did unanimously enter into a resolution in the following words:—

“That it is our decided and conscientious conviction that any power granted to the government of Great Britain, of interfering, directly or indirectly, in the appointment of Bishops for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert the Roman Catholic religion in this country.”

“RESOLVED—That with the conviction deeply and unalterably impressed upon our minds of the purity and sincerity of the venerated prelates who adopted the foregoing resolution, and of the plain truth and certainty of the conclusion which they have thus announced, we should consider ourselves as betraying the dearest interests of our religion, and of our country, did we not most unequivocally declare, that we will, AT ALL TIMES, AND UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, deprecate and oppose, by every means that the laws have left us, any such interference as the Catholic prelates and people have so often and so emphatically condemned.

“RESOLVED—That the sole pursuit of the Catholic people of Ireland being liberty—civil as well as religious—we should deem ourselves base and degraded, were we to purchase any advantages for ourselves, by consenting to any arrangement, which, by increasing the undue influence of his majesty’s ministers, must injure the civil liberty of our fellow-subjects, of every religious denomination.

“RESOLVED—That we re-adopt the resolution of the 13th March, 1806, that the holdings of meetings at any private house, for the general concerns of the Catholic body, is unfavourable to the freedom of discussion, and inadequate to the collection of public sentiment.

“That any meeting convened for the consideration of Catholic affairs, and involving the interests of the body at large, brought about by private invitation and partial selection, must be injurious to the interests of the Catholics of Ireland.”

The Chairman opened the proceedings by lamenting the conduct of the seceders, and condemning the vetoistical tendency of the petition which emanated from them. He expressed a hope that they would see the error of their ways, and that the division among the Catholics being healed, all would once more unite their efforts in the cause. He also recommended immediate endeavours to conciliate the Protestants.

MR. O'CONNELL said that he *was prepared to do every thing for conciliation, except surrendering the venerable religion of his fathers and of his country.*

It was not his wish to attack the private feelings of the seceders, nor his desire to say anything of them as individuals. But he would denounce them *as a body*, and would prove them the enemies of their religion, their country, and their God!

He then read several resolutions of the Catholic Board, and of various aggregate Catholic meetings, at which the Earl of Fingal and several others of the “seceders” had presided and attended—resolutions strongly declaring their hostility to the

measure of the veto. He drew attention to one in particular, moved by Lord Killeen, and seconded by Lord Trimleston (then Mr. Barnewall), which declared that they could not offer, in sincerity, any species whatsoever of "security," nor admit any arrangement or interference of the crown in matters touching their religion, such interference being, in their opinions, only an exchange of one species of servitude for another.

Yet (said he), these noble lords now tender the veto to the legislature!

What is the meaning or interpretation to be put upon this resolution, other than that given by the plain and obvious signification of the words? Were these noble lords then sincere, or are they sincere now? Do they mean to gladden the hearts of our enemies and persecutors, by fostering, in their shameful inconsistency, the belief that there is mental reservation in the minds of Catholics!

So far as to the people—but how do they stand with regard to the prelates?

The prelates have declared, that any interference of the Crown must injure, and might subvert their religion. This is their solemn and emphatic declaration. And now the seceders presume to assert that our venerated prelates are insincere! and that, in the name of the HOLY GHOST, they have published A FALSEHOOD to the world!!!

I restrain my feelings, my natural feelings at this most daring presumption of theirs, and I limit myself to the tame and measured phrase that they, these seceders, are thus clearly acting inconsistently with the declaration of the hierarchy, and what is of infinitely less importance, with their own conduct!

I oppose the measures of the seceders, because they are pregnant with the worst mischief. I would wish to hear any man explain their conduct, and justify, if it *can* be justified, the disgraceful and slavish sentiment which they have avowed.

The speaker then proceeded to comment, in considerable detail, upon all the circumstances connected with the getting up of the petition of the seceding party, and upon various other matters having relation to the subject of his preceding observations.

Before concluding, he further took occasion to withdraw, with many terms of respect and compliment, all the *expressions* which had fallen from him at a former meeting, with reference to the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, declaring that he had since learned that his lordship was steadily adverse to the veto, and had lately opposed it at the Court of Rome, with all his well-known energy and ability.

The year 1816 closed, without any formal condemnation of the veto by the head of the Catholic church, and indeed, with not a few indications of a disposition at the court of Rome, to treat the proposition with more tolerance than had been dreamed of. The friendship and support of England were then held to be matters of too great value not to have

every possible effort and sacrifice made to retain them. Like the high irregular waves of the sea, prevailing after the tempest has subsided, the surface of European society yet upheaved ominously and wildly upon every side, distracting the timid mind with a thousand fears and gloomy imaginings, and impelling it to any expedient that gave a chance of temporary safety.

At home, the voice of Ireland had, indeed, spoken out by the mouths of the majority of her hierarchy, and the entire of the second order of clergy, with the unanimous concurrence of the people. So far the question might have been considered closed and determined. But the resolves of a nation, ruled and legislated for by strangers, have their strength and effect only in the momentary strength and concentration of the popular mind, and any of the thousand influences that can be brought to bear on the latter for the purpose of division and distraction, will, if successful, neutralize and destroy the value of what has been previously accomplished.

And there were sadly depressing causes at work in Ireland! The miserable policy of England (policy, alas! little departed from to this present hour) had long before established the conviction that any concession, any grace from her, was only to be won under the pressure of adverse circumstances. Hope of any spontaneous justice, or free-will "*benevolence*" on her part, there was none. The vicissitudes of the sanguinary war, which had been for so many years waging, appeared to offer the only substantial chance for a real alleviation of Irish miseries, a real attention to Irish claims. So long, then, as war existed, so long there appeared some chance for Ireland.

The Irish were not to blame for this state of things. It was not their fault that the interests and mutual feelings of two islands, neighbouring each other, forming parts of the same empire, and apparently designed by nature to be in friendly alliance, were in antagonism. Supplications without number, couched in the most pacific, most calmly reasoning, most conciliatory language, had gone forth from them, to the controllers of their destinies in England. The answers had been in insulting words of refusal, and acts of flagitious tyranny. Little wonder then, that England's difficulties should have been looked to with a gloomy hope.

But the Irish looked for nothing more than the inevitable concessions of just claims by England in her difficulty. In the sound heart of the nation there was no desire for French alliance. France, still reeking with the filthy mire of her infidelity, and darkly crimsoned with the stale and unexpiated blood of her revolutionary massacres, was not the companion to whom enfranchised Ireland would have held out the hand. Religion and morality—the only sure groundwork for social order and national prosperity—must have suffered from the connexion and therefore, Ireland would have none of it—utterly abhorred it even in idea!

Where the Catholic party hoped, the Orange party feared and trembled. They were, of course, equally aware of the unfailing coincidence of English difficulty and concession, and had alternated between extravagant joy and extravagant trepidation, according as the arms of the allies, or those of the French emperor, had prospered in the progress of the struggle. Their exultation at Napoleon's fall, in 1814, had been violent, but speedily dashed and reversed by his sudden astounding recovery of his throne and power, in the beginning of the succeeding year. Where they exulted, the Catholics grieved; where they desponded the Catholics began to hope.

At length the final reversal came to the hopes of the Catholics, that England might be compelled by disaster at length to listen to the voice of justice, and concede their rights. Waterloo was fought, Napoleon a prisoner, France subdued, and the alliance most blasphemously styled "*Holy!*" was let loose upon civilization, and mankind's rights, to work its devilish will. England was in her palmiest hour of triumph, and, as a necessary consequence, her heart was harder than ever towards poor Ireland.

The delight and triumph of the Irish Orangemen may be imagined, but could scarcely be described in words. All danger seemed over—all hope, all chance shut to the Catholics. Toryism—cruel, strong-hearted, insolent Toryism, was rampant, not only in those countries, but all over prostrate Europe. Their ascendancy they believed to have got a new lease

a lease most likely for another century—full licence to plunder, oppress and trample upon their unhappy fellow-Christians, and fellow-countrymen.

As their scale went up, that of the Catholics, of course, went down—down to the very ground. Spirit, hope, life—all seemed quenched—gone out for ever among the so lately well organised and energetic Catholic body.

Mr. O'Connell always spoke of this period as one of the most trying of his eventful life. By no kind of means, by no manner of exertion, and he *did* look about for means, and *did* use a thousand exertions, could he arouse the Catholics to action, or even to a defensive position. For more than two years a moral lethargy, a faint-hearted and hopeless apathy hung over the country, and, with the exception of himself, scarce any one was in the field for Ireland.

To such an extent did this helplessness and inactivity prevail, that even the rent of the rooms in Capel-street, tenanted by the Catholics for the purposes of their meetings, was unpaid, until Mr. O'Connell put his hand in his own pocket for the purpose. Resigning them as too expensive, he took smaller rooms in Crow-street, and for a long time discharged all expenses connected with them, and with all that remained of the "*working*" of the Catholic cause.

During this period of depression, had the fell designs of the British minister against the independence of the Catholic church in Ireland, been actively pushed, there is much reason to believe they would have been successful. But where human help failed, Divine Providence interposed to save us. In the high flushed pride of her extraordinary successes England, as it were, forgot Ireland, and the schemes for corrupting the Irish mind and heart, which had seemed so important, while a chance remained of foreign interference. Or, if she remembered these matters, the idea appeared ridiculous of going to any trouble to delude and seduce a people absolutely, and as she thought hopelessly and irremediably beneath her feet.

The "veto" was therefore abandoned—abandoned at the moment when the chances of forcing it on Ireland were strongest—abandoned when the Catholicism for which our fathers suffered and died, seemed vast human help, and "the gates of hell" for a moment seemed about to "prevail."

Why should we then despond in this our present crisis of Catholicism?

We have not alluded to Mr. O'Connell's professional career as yet 'n this volume, as no reports, except of the most meagre and scanty description, are to be found of his bar speeches, during the interval it embraces. His advance in the profession was great, and his income, term after term, and circuit after circuit, greatly increasing, with a rapidity entirely unprecedented. Unfortunately, however, for this work, the reports of many and many a powerful law argument, and many an effective address to juries, are so meagre and imperfect, that it would be only a waste of the reader's time to give them in the present collection. Such of his forensic efforts, however, as have been recorded with any appearance of accuracy or due care, will, as heretofore, be found in our pages.

COLLISION WITH THE VETOISTS.

In January, 1817, Mr. O'Connell gave every assistance in his power to an abortive attempt made in Dublin to get up a society of "Friends of Reform in Parliament." It was composed of Protestants and Catholics, and, though its numbers were very limited, and its duration did not extend beyond a few meetings and dinners, it was so far valuable as being the first occasion since the Union, when Irishmen of different creeds had associated on something like terms of equality in one body.

Early in February occurred a collision with the vetoists, or "seceders." Profiting by the general apathy we have mentioned as prevailing in the popular mind, this miserable little

oterie had been busy in their small way, meeting, speechifying to each other, resolving and labouring with infinite pains to show the minister how anxious they were to subserve his hostility to Irish ecclesiastical independence, if he would only renew and carry on his attacks with his pristine activity

The following notification from them appeared in the Dublin papers, at the end of January:—

"It is the intention of the gentlemen who have called the meeting of the 4th of February next, while they adhere strictly to the principles contained in their petition of last year (*i. e.* the seceders' petition entrusted to Mr. Grattan), to evince, by the measure which they intend to propose to the meeting, a desire that the general feeling of the Roman Catholic body may, *as far as possible, be attended to!* in any 'arrangements that may eventually accompany a bill of relief to the Catholics of Ireland.'"

It is amusing to note the coolness with which this little knot of trimmers announce their gracious desire to have *some* consideration for the opinions of the rest of Ireland.

The meeting was advertised for the day above stated, and to be held at No. 50, *Eccles-street*. Mr. O'Connell and the leading gentlemen of the popular movement determined that it should not be one of a hole and corner description; and accordingly he, with several of his colleagues, attended at the time and place named. They were stopped in the hall by a servant boy, who showed them a resolution signed by Lord Southwell and Sir Edward Bellew, to the effect that the meeting was confined to those who had been parties to sending a Catholic petition to Mr. Grattan in the preceding year. But, as the public advertisement had announced no such reservation, they refused to be bound by this private arrangement, and accordingly proceeded up stairs.

Nicholas Mahon opened the battery on the astounded vetoists assembled in scanty numbers up stairs. He said he attended in the assertion of his right as a Catholic, to attend to what was his individual concern, as well as that of the body at large, and therefore would remain.

Lord Southwell referred to the terms of the notice in the hall, and "hoped gentlemen would withdraw."

Mr. O'Connell said, he for one would certainly not do so. He entirely denied the right of any portion of the Catholic body to form themselves into a privileged class, or an Orange lodge, out of which they could exclude any other Catholic looking for emancipation.

Besides, he said, he had come there that day in the perfect spirit of conciliation, and to make propositions that might tend to combine the entire Catholic body in one great exertion. The propositions were so reasonable that nothing could resist them, but a determination to dissension, or for the veto.

There was a long consultation between Lord Southwell, Sir E. Bellew, and his brother, Counsellor Bellew. At last Lord Southwell being moved to the chair,

Sir Edward Bellew, disclaiming personal disrespect, moved to adjourn, as persons not summoned were present. Mr. O'Connell opposed the motion, and after some time, succeeded in getting the motion withdrawn.

Sir Edward next moved two resolutions drawn up by his brother: the one calling on Mr. Grattan to move on their petition of the last year, and the other expressly recognizing the right of the legislature to make a law *controlling the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church, but praying of them not to infringe either.*

These resolutions were seconded by Randall M'Donnell, Esq., and opposed in strong terms.

Mr. O'Connell next spoke. The following is the newspaper extract, given by authority:—

"He first pointed out the weakness and imbecility of the Catholic cause last year, which he traced to division and dissension in the Catholic body. This was freely and fully admitted.

"He then adverted to the '*reasons*' by which the '*seceders*' had last year justified their division. First, '*intemperance.*' He asserted that there was now not a shadow of intemperance. This, too, was admitted on all hands.

“Secondly—‘*the introduction of extraneous topics.*’ He asserted that all extraneous topics had then been abandoned; and this also was admitted.

“Thirdly—‘*taking away the petition from Mr. Grattan.*’ This point he offered to concede. It could easily be done without interfering with the petition in Sir Henry Parnell’s hands. Another petition may be instantly prepared to be given to Mr. Grattan, and that petition Mr. O’Connell offered to sign, if it excluded the veto

“Fourthly—‘*the want of any offer of conciliation, or arrangement in the petitions of the people.*’ Even this had been obviated. The people this year had adopted a petition already signed by Lord Fingal and Lord Southwell, Sir Edward Bellew, and others. And they had actually given up the point of simple Repeal, by acceding to the arrangement which was short of the veto—domestic nomination

These were all the alleged causes of dissension and division. The popular party had conceded all, or were ready to concede all of them—and Mr. O’Connell further offered to make any other concession which could produce unanimity—anything connected with an expressed or implied assent to any vetoistical measure always excepted.

“He then called on the seceders to say, whether they would do anything, or take any one step for unanimity; and to this question, though put repeatedly, he could get no reply.

“He lastly showed, that before this meeting, there was perfect unanimity; and if the seceders did not, by now coming forward, take away from the Catholic cause the strength which unanimity would otherwise give it, there was, in the present state of affairs, the greatest likelihood of success, unless the cause was retarded and embarrassed by conflicting petitions, and discordant petitioners.

He concluded by entreating, at all events, further deliberation, and an adjournment for three or four days, with the appointment of a committee, to consist of Sir E. Bellew, Randal M’Donnell, James Connolly, and Nicholas Mahon, Esqrs., who could meet in the meantime from day to day, and consider whether there were any means of reconciling all parties in the Catholic body, and procuring unanimity.

“Mr. James Connolly proposed, and Counsellor Howley seconded an adjournment accordingly, and Mr. R. M’Donnell assented to it, saying that the meeting would certainly be inexcusable with the country, if it did not, at least, make an attempt at conciliation.

“The proposition, however, was rejected by fourteen to four.” Mr. O’Connell, Mr. Mahon, Mr. M’Laughlin (Cornelius), Mr. O’Kelly, and the other popular Catholics, were excluded from the vote by the Chairman, on the ground of their not being parties summoned. The minority were Messrs. M’Donnell, Connolly, Howley, and Phelan. The majority are described as seven barristers, (or ‘counsellors’), of whom two were pensioners, viz., Bellew and Lynch (Sir Edward Bellew), two persons totally unknown, and three very young men equally unknown; and thus (continues the report we have extracted from) was totally rejected all affectation of wishing to strengthen the Catholic cause by unanimity, or of concealing any longer the ardent desire for a veto.

“Mr. O’Connell then rose and said, that he had done his duty. He had exerted every faculty of his mind, and every good feeling of his heart, to promote unanimity. He had taken away all pretext—all colour or shadow of excuse from the few who had set themselves up in opposition to the Catholic body, and had made them, by their own act, demonstrate that they only sought for dissension and distraction, and that they had no other ultimate object but to increase the corrupt influence of the ministry, at the expense of the religion and liberty of Ireland!

“He would no longer consent to remain among them; but he would announce to them this undoubted truth, that their puny efforts for a veto were poor and impotent, and would be blasted by the voice of the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland, whose zealous, honest, and conscientious opposition to that measure, only accumulated as the attempt to betray them appeared more manifest. It was ridiculous to expect success for that measure, from such miserable support, against the universal voice of Ireland.

“Mr. O’Connell and the other gentlemen of the popular party then withdrew.”

A separate statement of this affair was, a few days afterwards, put forward by Mr. Bellew,

chiefly giving his own speeches on the occasion in fuller detail, and varying in some unimportant particulars from the preceding. There was, however, no impeachment of the main facts as already given.

Notwithstanding the refusal of the "seceders" to do their part in the work of conciliation, a "conciliating committee" of Catholics was formed, to endeavour to keep matters in the right channel, and at the same time suggest any concessions compatible with preserving Catholic independence.

This body issued a circular, inviting the co-operation of every Catholic. It was drawn up in the spirit of Mr. O'Connell's remarks to the Eccles-street coterie; repudiating the veto, securities, &c., &c., as matters against which the nation had pronounced; and suggesting as follows:—

"There is an arrangement which would take away all pretext of argument for our enemies, and which has already been sanctioned by our prelates, and received the full approbation of the people—it is that of domestic nomination."

Under this title was meant the system prevailing at the present day, when the Catholic bishops of Ireland are *selected* by the Pope out of a list or lists forwarded to him from the prelates of the province and the clergy of the vacant diocese. It had come practically into operation in the recent election of an excellent a bishop, and as true a patriot as ever lived—the late Right Rev. Dr. Kernan, Bishop of Clogher.

A short speech of Mr. O'Connell's, at one of the first meetings of the "Conciliating Committee," gives a striking view of the difficulties and perils besetting the Catholics at this time:—

"MR. O'CONNELL said he rose for the purpose of moving to postpone the aggregate meeting from Friday next (the 28th February, 1817), to a future day.

There were many reasons which rendered this postponement expedient, perhaps necessary; the principal one was the threatened suspension of the habeas corpus act. It was not yet known whether Ireland was or was not included, or to be included within the effect of such suspension; if it were, then it appeared to him that the best course to pursue would be to withdraw the Catholic petition altogether, and to abandon all claims for legislative relief, until the constitutional protection from unjust imprisonment should again be available. There was no pusillanimity in this advice, and the only credit he claimed with his oppressed countrymen was, that of being capable of giving them advice of such a tendency.

If it were deemed right to offer up a victim to that rancorous and malignant hatred which the bigots in Ireland cherished against those who had exerted themselves for Catholic freedom, he for one was perfectly ready to be that victim; but at present it struck him, that one example of unjust suffering by a Catholic, would only encourage the bigots amongst their enemies, and the venal amongst themselves, and, perhaps, prevent many honest but more cautious persons from ever coming forward.

Besides the suspension of the habeas corpus act, which would leave the personal liberty of every individual in the land at the

mercy of the minister of the day, whoever he may be, appeared to him an evil of such tremendous magnitude that all lesser evils should give place to it ; and, in the contemplation of so monstrous a calamity, they should forget their individual grievances. As long, therefore, as that vital part of the constitution should remain suspended, he, for one, would most earnestly recommend the suspension of all meetings, petitions, and applications to the legislature.

There was another point of view in which he deemed this relaxation from petition necessary. When the habeas corpus act shall be suspended, the minister might take up his threatened veto bill, under the name of an emancipation bill. He might seek to enlarge his own influence upon the ruins of the Catholic Church in Ireland, under the name of emancipation. If any man dared to call the people together to remonstrate against the veto—if any attempt were made to resist it by the expression of public indignation, would it not be competent for persons in power to interrupt the organs of the public sentiment, and to immure them in prison for as long as they might think fit. Thus, while the opponents of the veto were silenced by the hand of authority, and sent, perhaps, into solitary confinement, to expiate in the long and heavy hours of seclusion, their criminal fidelity to the ancient faith of Ireland, the veto might be enacted ; *as if in pursuance of their own petition*. To obviate those fearful possibilities, it would be best to withdraw the petition, and officially to inform the legislature that all we desired for the present was, to be left in a state of oblivion !

He concluded by saying he would move a postponement until Tuesday next ; by which day it would be known whether the present protection of the law would remain, or be taken away. That result would enable the Catholics to determine on their course of proceedings.

What a state of things ! A whole people likely to have to petition, not for a positive boon—not for an act of relief, but *to be let alone* ! And yet the only thing at all novel in the circumstances would have been, that any attention should be given to their humble supplications !

The next post relieved the Catholics of this fear ; Lord Sidmouth expressly declaring in the House of Lords, when moving the first reading of the habeas corpus suspension act, that there were no circumstances requiring that its operation should be extended to Ireland.

But, out of one trouble or difficulty, the Catholics were a long way from being at ease or in safety. The Irish vetoists were as hard at work, or harder than ever. Both Mr. Grattan and Sir Henry Parnell declared openly and unreservedly for the veto ; and at the same moment an alarming letter from the Rev. Richard Hayes, agent for the *anti-vetoists* at Rome, was received, detailing intrigues in support of the measure which threatened to be successful with the authorities there.

The following is an abstract of this long and deeply-interesting letter :—

It commences with stating that the hopes of the vetoistical party at Rome, with Cardinal Gonsalvi at their head, had been revived by the coming of "young Wyse, late of Waterford, and a Counsellor Ball;" that "these youths had repeated to the cardinal, to the Pope, to Cardinal Litta, and other officials, that 'all the property, education, and respectability of the Catholics of Ireland were favourable to the veto; that the clergy were secretly inclined to it, but were overruled by the mob,' &c., &c.

It is true that Cardinal Litta now abhors the veto more, if possible, than any Catholic in Ireland; and the Pope is resolved to take no step without his advice; yet you may judge of the intrigue, when the miserable farce of these silly boys is given the importance of a regular diplomatic mission."

The letter then went on to complain of the stoppage and interruption of his correspondence with Ireland, in its passage through different countries:—"What a combination of misfortunes—Italian villany, French tyranny, British corruption, vetoistical calumny, and, more than all, apparent Irish neglect, have conspired to throw your affairs into the utmost difficulty and danger. Now or never a more powerful effort should be made in Ireland, or the infernal veto, with all its tribe of evils, religious and political, will sink the wretched country of our birth and dearest affections, lower than she has been even in the periods of bloody persecution!"

The writer concluded by requesting to have two coadjutors sent to him: Dr. Dromgoole and the Rev. Mr. McAuley.

Mr. O'Connell postponed the consideration of this important document until after the approaching aggregate meeting.

On Thursday, March the 6th, this meeting took place. The following were the resolutions adopted:

"RESOLVED—That we duly appreciate the value of unanimity amongst the Catholics, and approve of the measures lately resorted to, in order to produce that desirable result. But we cannot recognize any basis for such unanimity, save such as shall exclude any species of vetoistical arrangement whatever.

"RESOLVED—That the people of Ireland, in former times, sustained the loss not only of civil liberty, but of their properties, and many of them their lives, rather than relinquish the faith and discipline of the ancient Catholic Church of Ireland; and that we, their descendants, are equally attached to that faith and discipline, and equally determined to adhere thereto, notwithstanding any temporal disadvantages penalties, pains, or privations.

"RESOLVED—That the Catholic prelates of Ireland, assembled in solemn synod, did unanimously enter into the following resolution—'That it is our decided and conscientious conviction, that any power granted to the Crown of Great Britain, of interfering directly or indirectly in the appointment of bishops for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert, the Roman Catholic religion in this country.'

Upon the following resolution being read :—

"RESOLVED—That we should not receive, as a boon, any portion of civil liberty, accompanied by that which the Catholic prelates and people of Ireland have condemned as essentially injurious, and probably destructive to our religion; and we do solemnly declare, that we infinitely prefer our present situation in the state, to any emancipation which may be directly or indirectly coupled with the veto:"

Mr. Woulfe (late Chief Baron), rose and made a very honourable retraction of his own opinions in favour of the veto; and commented sharply upon the conduct of the seceders. On the fifth resolution, viz. :—

“That the concurrence of all classes of Catholics in the measure of *domestic nomination*, ought to prevail unanimously amongst ourselves, and to obviate the alarms, however unfounded, of the enemies of our emancipation :”

Mr. O'Connell requested, before it was put, that Mr. Grattan's late letter should be read; which being done, he addressed the meeting, recommending that an answer should be returned, distinct, emphatic, and unmistakeable; repudiating all species of veto. He then proceeded to explain away a mistake of Mr. Woulfe's. Domestic nomination was not a new suggestion, but a return to the ancient practice of the Catholic Church. He concluded with an earnest appeal to the Catholics to imitate their enemies in unanimity, and ultimate success would be theirs.

Letters were accordingly addressed, not only to Mr. Grattan, but to the other chief parliamentary advocates of the Catholic cause, conveying the spirit of these resolutions. Mr. Grattan returned a simple acknowledgment of receipt. Lord Donoughmore, on the contrary, expressed his warm concurrence with the sentiments of the majority of the Irish nation; and his entire abhorrence of any arrangement that would give the British minister more power of corruption than he already had. Equally satisfactory was the letter of Sir Henry Parnell.

A motion was subsequently made in the House of Commons, to take into consideration the Catholic claims, and in the discussion upon it, the views of the Catholics with regard to the veto and its *substitute*—“domestic nomination,” were explained. But Catholic and Irish affairs were, now that the war was long done, and England busy settling her accounts after it, matters of very secondary importance, and so the motion was hastily negatived.

A most respectful address, of the same tendency, was also forwarded to the bishops, and by them generally well received, and responded to with renewed pledges against the veto.

The next meeting of the Catholic Board was occupied with a matter, which had already drawn forth the strong condemnation of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin and his coadjutor

CATHOLIC BOARD—RHEMISH BIBLE.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1817.

MR. O'CONNELL said that on the last day of meeting, he gave notice that he would move for a committee to draw up a disavowal of the very dangerous and uncharitable doctrines contained in certain notes to the Rhemish Testament. He now rose to submit that motion to the consideration of the Board.

The late edition of the Rhemish Testament in this country gave rise to much observation. That work was denounced by Doctor Troy. An action is now depending between him and a respectable bookseller in this city, and it would be the duty of

the Board not to interfere, in the remotest degree, with the subject of that action, but on the other hand, the Board could not let the present opportunity pass by of recording their sentiments of disapprobation, and even of abhorrence, of the bigoted and intolerant doctrines promulgated in that work. Their feelings of what was wise, consistent, and liberal, would suggest such a proceeding, even though the indecent calumnies of their enemies had not rendered it indispensable.

A work called the *British Critic* had, no doubt, been read by some gentleman who heard him. The circulation of the last number has been very extensive, and succeeded, almost beyond calculation, the circulation of any former number, in consequence of an article which appeared in it on the late edition of the Rhemish Testament. He (Mr. O'Connell) said he read that article. It is extremely unfair and uncandid; it gives, with audacious falsehood, passages as if from the notes to the Rhemish Testament, which cannot be found in that work; and, with mean cunning, it seeks to avoid detection by quoting without giving either text or page. Throughout, it is written in the true spirit of the inquisition: it is violent, vindictive, and uncharitable. He was sorry to understand that it was written by ministers of the Established Church; but he trusted that when the charge of intemperance should be again brought forward against the Catholics, their accusers would cast their eyes on this coarse and illiberal attack. Here they may find a specimen of real intemperance.

But the very acceptable work of imputing principles to the Irish people which they never held, and which they abhor, was not confined to the *British Critic*. The *Courier*, a newspaper whose circulation is immense, lent its hand; and the provincial newspapers throughout England—those papers which are ever silent when anything might be said favourable to Ireland, but are ever active to disseminate whatever may tend to her disgrace or dishonour—they have not hesitated to impute to the Catholics of this country the doctrines contained in those offensive notes, and it was their duty to disclaim them. Nothing was more remote from the true sentiments of the Irish people.

These notes were of English growth; they were written in agitated times, when the title of Elizabeth was questioned on the grounds of legitimacy. Party spirit was then extremely violent. Politics mixed with religion, and of course disgraced it. Queen Mary, of Scotland, had active partizans, who thought it would forward their purposes to translate the Bible, and add

to it those obnoxious notes. But very shortly after the establishment of the college at Douay, this Rhemish edition was condemned by all the doctors of that institution, who, at the same time, called for, and received the aid of the Scotch and Irish colleges. The book was thus suppressed, and an edition of the Bible, with notes, was published at Douay, which has been ever since adopted by the Catholic church; so that they not only condemned and suppressed the Rhemish edition, but they published an edition, with notes, to which no objection has been, or could be urged.

From that period there have been but two editions of the Rhemish Testament; the first had very little circulation; the late one was published by a very ignorant printer in Cork, a man of the name of M'Namara, a person who was not capable of distinguishing between the Rhemish and other edition of the Bible. He took up the matter merely as a speculation in trade. He meant to publish a Catholic Bible, and having put his hand upon the Rhemish edition, he commenced to print it in numbers. He subsequently became a bankrupt, and his property in this transaction vested in Mr. Cumming, a respectable bookseller in this city, who is either a Protestant or a Presbyterian, but he carried on the work like M'Namara, merely to make money of it as a commercial speculation.

And yet, continued Mr. O'Connell, our enemies have taken it up with avidity. They have asserted that the sentiments contained in those notes are cherished by the Catholics in this country. He would not be surprised to hear of speeches in the next parliament on this subject. It was a hundred to one but that some of our briefless barristers have already commenced composing their dull calumnies, and that we shall have speeches from them for the edification of the legislature and the protection of the Church.

There was not a moment to be lost. The Catholics, with one voice, should disclaim these very odious, these execrable doctrines. He was convinced that there was not a single Catholic of any description in Ireland that did not feel with him, the uttermost abhorrence of such principles. Illiberality has been imputed to the Irish people; but they are most grossly, most cruelly wronged. It had been his fortune often to address the Catholic people of Ireland, and he knew them well. He had ever found them prompt to applaud every sentiment of liberality, and the doctrine of perfect freedom of conscience—the right of every human being to have his religious creed, whatever that creed might be,

unpolluted by the impious interference of bigoted and oppressive laws. These sacred rights were never advocated—these enlarged and generous sentiments were never uttered at a Catholic meeting, whether aggregate or otherwise, without receiving, at the instant, the loud and unanimous applause of the assembly.

It might, to be sure, be said, and doubtless would be, that those meetings were composed of mere rabble. Be it so. For one, he would concede that for the sake of argument. But what followed? Why, just this: that the Catholic *rabble*, without the advantages of education, or the influence of polished society, were so well acquainted with the genuine principles of Christian charity, that they, the rabble, adopted and applauded the sentiments of liberality and of religious freedom, which unfortunately, met but little encouragement from the polished and educated of other sects.

He owed it to his religion, as a Catholic and a Christian—to his country, as an Irishman—to his feelings, as a human being, to utterly denounce the abominable doctrines contained in the notes of this edition of the Rhemish Testament.

He was a Catholic upon principle; a steadfast and sincere Catholic, from the conviction that it was the best form of religion; but he would not remain a Catholic one hour longer, if he thought it essential to the profession of the Catholic faith, to believe that it was lawful to murder Protestants, or that faith might be innocently broken with heretics;—yet such were the doctrines to be deduced from the notes to this Rhemish Testament.

His motion, in conclusion, was for a sub-committee, to whom the matter should, in the first instance, be referred. The strongest form of disavowal should be drawn up, and might be very properly submitted for the sanction of an aggregate meeting. Copies should then be immediately circulated everywhere, and in particular be sent to every member of both Houses of Parliament, to the dignitaries of the Protestant Church, and the Synod of Ulster, &c., &c.

Mr. Eneas MacDonnell *opposed* the motion! but his opposition was speedily scouted, and the motion carried; the sub-committee to be, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Scully, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Mahon, and "Pius Eneas" himself.

The last acts of the Catholics, in the year 1817, were to send forward their "Remonstrance" to the Court of Rome, and to receive the report of their agent at that court, the Rev. Richard Hayes.

The year 1818 passed over without much of interest occurring on which we need delay the reader. The apathy over the popular mind was at its height, and where any effort was attempted, dissension and division were sure to interfere to stop all progress. It would be difficult accurately to convey an idea of what Mr. O'Connell justly styled, upon

one of the few public occasions then occurring, "the depression of those miserable times."

In June, 1818, an answer was at last received from the Court of Rome, and read at a meeting of the Catholic Board, on Saturday, the 6th of that month.

It commenced with stating, that the reason an earlier answer had not been made, was twofold; first, that the sentiments of the Court of Rome had been made known to the bishops of Ireland, who were considered the more proper channel for the communication; and, second, that however sincere the assurances of respect, &c., on the part of the lay Catholics, there were some phrases used by them, with regard to the extent of the papal authority, which did not give satisfaction.

It went on to state that the intended concession to the British government was proposed in what appeared the interest of the Catholic religion in these countries, as emancipation, if thereby purchased, would give relief to the suffering Catholic body, remove temptations to apostacy, and also impediments to conversion from the dissenting sects.

But that the arrangement was entirely meant to be conditional, and only conditional upon the *previous* passing of the Emancipation Act

It concluded with a justification of the proceedings against the Rev. Richard Hayes.

That reverend gentleman, before the document was read, protested that, while yet ignorant of its contents, he did, in any point in which it might blame him, express his entire submission and contrition, and would supplicate pardon from his Holiness.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. O'Connell, Lanigan, Mac Donnell, Scully, Howley and Wolfe, were appointed to consider what steps should be taken in this matter.

A public dinner, given upon a very handsome scale, to Thomas Moore (and of which Mr. O'Connell was the chief promoter), on the 8th of June, afforded an opportunity for the following renewed expression of truly liberal and truly Irish feelings.

The chairman (Earl of Charlemont), after the leading toasts had been given, proposed—

"The managing Committee, and many thanks to them for their exertions."

There was a general cry for Mr. O'Connell.

He came forward with some reluctance, and declared that he had no affectation at all upon the subject, but could not recognise any claim he had to any peculiar notice on such an occasion as the present.

When gentlemen met to express the national sentiment towards the most delightful of the bards of Old Erin, it was quite refreshing, he said, to see the cordial alacrity with which men of every party combined in that testimony to his talents and his worth. The Irish legend celebrated the fame of the Saint of Ireland, at whose command every venomous reptile quitted the land, but it would remain for history to celebrate the more glorious and useful triumph of the Poet of Ireland, at whose presence all that was rancorous and malignant in the angry passions of absurd partizanship, ceased, and violent and virulent disputation became converted into a scene of peace, harmony, and affection.

It was a pleasing, a delicious change, and might be perpetual, if Irishmen of all parties would recollect that there were generous, kindly, brave, and good men of every party; and that, however, in the zeal of contention, those good qualities might be denied, yet they did, in fact, live and reside, as in a chosen

home, in the bosoms of Irishmen of every faction, sect, and persuasion. (Loud cheers.)

This work of conciliation and natural affection was most suited to the man who combined in himself the most splendid and the most endearing qualities—who was alone and at the same time the sweetest poet, the best of sons, and the most exquisite Irishman living. (Loud applause.)

For himself, all he should say was, that nothing could give him greater pleasure than to be able to extinguish party zeal for ever, and to join in a national exertion for the benefit of all the inhabitants of his native land. He was a party man, to be sure; but it was his misfortune; not his fault, to be so. He, however, belonged to the party of the oppressed and excluded; and if he had been born in Madrid or in Constantinople, he vowed to God he would in either place be more intemperate and violent for the protection of the persecuted Protestant in the one, and of the trampled-down Christian in the other. (Continued applause.)

PUBLIC DINNER TO MR. O'CONNELL AT TRALEE.

FROM this public dinner to Tom Moore, our hasty narrative must jump to a dinner given to Mr. O'Connell himself, in October, at Tralee, the chief town in his native county.

“On Monday last, October 24th, 1817, a public dinner was given, at the Mail-coach Hotel, in this town, to Counsellor O'Connell, in testimony of the approbation of the gentry of his native county, of his public and private character. The concourse of gentlemen at this dinner was greater than had ever before been seen in Kerry. The entire first floor of the hotel was thrown into one; but the room was still not large enough to contain the entire company. Near thirty were under the necessity of dining in one of the parlours.

“JOHN BERNARD of Ballynaguard, Esq., was in the chair. The vice-president was JOHN STACK, of Ballyconry, Esq. The dinner was excellent, and consisted of every delicacy in season, and was served in a very superior style. After the cloth was removed, the following toasts were given:—

“THE KING.’

“His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and the Principles which placed his Illustrious Family upon the Throne.’

“Prosperity to Old Ireland.’

“The Lord-Lieutenant and the Agricultural Interests of Ireland.’

“Mr. Secretary Grant and Universal Toleration.’ Three times three—much cheering.

“The Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Liberal part of the Corporation.’

“Civil and Religious Liberty to all Mankind.’

“The Chairman then called the attention of the company to the immediate cause of their meeting. He said, that being totally unaccustomed to speaking in public, he was unable to do justice to the worth and talent which they were

met to celebrate. But in *this* company, where they were known, they needed no encomium. He would, therefore, simply propose

“Our Guest—DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

“This toast was enthusiastically greeted by the entire company. The cheering and applause continued for several minutes. When silence was restored. Mr. O’Connell rose and addressed the company in a speech of which we can give only an outline. He rose under the manifest oppression of strong feelings, and those feelings more than once overpowered him.

MR. O’CONNELL said that his kind friends would at least give him credit for this—that he wanted words to express his gratitude. Where, indeed, could words be found to express the big gratitude that swelled his heart? Language was inadequate to this purpose; and he could only rely on the electricity of Irish cordiality to convey the impulses of his affections to the kindred spirits of his kind friends and countrymen.

When, said he, I see myself surrounded by so much of the rank, the wealth, and the independence of my native county, I am naturally driven to ask, How have I deserved this proud and flattering honour? It is not by my talents; for, if I possess any, they are of the lower order: it is not by my services; for, alas! whatever exertions I may have made for our unhappy country have hitherto proved abortive and fruitless. No! I have neither talents nor services; but you have recognized, perhaps, in me a congenial disinterestedness and honesty of intention. If you have seen in me a singleness of heart and a purity of motive; if you have given me credit for the absence of every sordid and selfish feeling; if you have considered that I loved my country for her own sake alone, your kindness and generosity have supplied the rest: you have taken the will for the deed; you have given to intentions the merit of actions, and have made motives supply the place of services.

This is the result of your enthusiastic generosity; but, perhaps, it is also prudent. It may be prudent and wise; and, indeed, I think it is both prudent and wise to read the lesson you do this night to your brothers and your children—to teach them this, that mere honesty and integrity can procure for the public man the greatest and most heart-binding reward, in the kindness and affectionate approbation of his countrymen.

Oh, but you afford another and a better example! Where are intolerance, and bigotry, and religious rancour now? Let them behold this sight; let them see here the Protestant rank and wealth of Kerry paying a tribute to an humble individual, only because he has been the zealous advocate of their Catholic

brethren. Would to God that the honest men in England, who have been led to oppose Emancipation, by the belief that in Ireland the Protestant feared the Catholic, and the Catholic hated the Protestant, could behold this spectacle, and see how kindly the Protestant cheers the Catholic advocate, and how affectionately the Catholic repays the kindness of his Protestant friends. (Loud and long-continued applause followed these sentiments.)

Mr. O'Connell continued—

My political creed is short and simple. It consists in believing that all men are entitled, as of right and justice, to religious and civil liberty. I deserve no credit for being the advocate of religious liberty, as my wants alone require such advocacy; but I have taken care to require it only on that principle which would equally grant it to all sects and persuasions, which, while it emancipated the Catholics in Ireland, would protect the Protestant in France and Italy, and destroy the Inquisition, together with the inquisitors, in Spain. Religion is debased and degraded by human interference; and surely the worship of the Deity cannot but be contaminated by the admixture of worldly ambition or human force. Such are my sentiments—such are yours.

Civil liberty is equally dear to us all; and we can now see, with heartfelt satisfaction, that it is making a sure and steady progress. The history of the world has taught us to abhor despotism—the story of modern revolutions has taught us to avoid and detest the evils of anarchy. In these countries all that is requisite is to restore the constitution to its original purity, to bring its genuine principle into activity, and to sweep away the fictions which have taken the place of realities;—in short, to limit the duration of parliament, and to abolish nominal representation of the people. For those useful and practical purposes all good men should combine, and from their combination success must ensue.

But the progress of rational liberty is manifest and cheering. Even the Autocrat of Russia emancipated the slaves of Courland; France already possesses the principle of representation; in the states of Prussia and Germany the iron vassalage of the feudal system has been abolished, and the people are vigorously struggling for representative government; Spain is, I trust in God, on the verge of a powerful revolution, which will vindicate her from the misery and reproach of her present civil tyranny; South America has already burst her bondage, and the banners of liberty already float over her plains and on her majestic

mountains ; and in North America the experiment of popular liberty has been made with pre-eminent success, and the people and the government have become identified.

These facts suggest pleasing prospects, and gladden the heart of every man who, whilst he abhors the guilt of irregular ambition, equally detests the servility of that more sordid ambition, whose object is to turn the public service into a source of private emolument. If I have any claim as a public man, it is that I equally reject the one and the other.

Such, my friends, is my political creed—such are my principles. That they have met your approbation constitutes the proudest moment of my life, and shall be remembered with exquisite satisfaction to the latest moment of my existence. Your approbation has confirmed that genuine loyalty that binds us to the British Constitution in its purity, and has given a more decided character to that love of liberty which attaches us to all mankind. We will, if you please, set our seal on those sentiments by drinking—

‘ The Cause of Rational Liberty all over the Globe.’

‘ The applauses continued for a considerable time after the learned gentleman had sat down. The following toasts succeeded :—

‘ The Army and Navy of the United Empire ; may they be as happy in peace as they have been glorious in war.’

‘ The Knight of Kerry, and the Friends of Retrenchment and Reform in the House of Commons.’

‘ Colonel Crosbie, and the Resident Gentry of the County of Kerry.

‘ Edward Denny, Esq., M.P., and may we soon see restored the hereditary hospitality of the Denny family in their native county.’

‘ Earl Donoughmore and the Friends of the Constitution in the House of Lords.’

‘ Judge Day, an excellent Landlord, an affectionate Friend, and a good Man.’

‘ This toast having been drunk with more than usual demonstrations of regard, Mr O’CONNELL rose and begged permission to say a few words. He gladly seized that opportunity to concur in the testimony borne by his countrymen to Judge Day. On political subjects he had the misfortune to differ from that respected gentleman ; but whilst he continued to maintain the independence of his own political opinions, he could not cease to regret that such a difference had existed. It was now at an end : the learned judge had now retired into private life, and there the most unmixed and heartfelt approbation followed his conduct as a landlord, a friend, and a gentleman.

‘ Do you require testimony of his worth as a landlord—go and ask his happy tenantry, and they will tell you he is not an excellent, but the very best of landlords. They will tell you how he fostered and cherished them during the bad times, out of which I hope we are escaping, and their present prosperity speaks his praise with an eloquence that no eulogium can equal. He is an affectionate, active, zealous friend. What Kerryman ever yet asked him for a kindness within his reach, and was refused? No ; he never refused to act kindly ; on the contrary, whatever his active exertions could do to promote the interests of

his friends was unremittingly bestowed, and that with a cheerfulness and affection which produced gratitude, even where he could not succeed. With these social virtues he retires from public life, into the bosom of a society, which will, I trust, render the remainder of his life happy, by bestowing on him that respectful kindness which he deserves as an excellent landlord, a kind friend, and a good man. (Loud and general applause.)

“These toasts succeeded:—

“The Constitution, may it be restored to its purity and preserved for ever.”

“The Hon. Christopher Hufchinson and the Friends of Freedom in Cork.”

“Thomas Spring Rice and the Friends of Independence in Limerick.”

“The entertainment was at this time interrupted by three distinct cheers from the street. It was discovered, that the two parties who have so often disturbed the peace of the town by their internal riots, had, for this night, coalesced, and arranged themselves into something like regimental order. They had got up a kind of band of musicians; and, arrayed with torches, and under four banners, they traversed the town. On two of the banners were painted emblems of Peace and Union; the third displayed the Knight of Kerry's, and the fourth the O'Connell arms. Their band struck up ‘Patrick's Day,’ and Mr. O'Connell was called on by the company to address them from the window, which he did. The stewards ordered out two hogsheads of porter; but they were immediately rolled back, the people declaring that they did not come to get drink, nor would they accept of any—that they came merely to pay a compliment to a man who was the sincere friend of Irishmen of all ranks and classes.

“MR. O'CONNELL then asked leave to propose a bumper to the health of the proprietor of the town. He was the descendant of one of the most ancient families in the British dominions; his ancestors had been settled in Kerry since the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and they had not come here needy and obscure adventurers, but gentlemen even at that time of ancient and high descent. The present baronet was a gentleman of retired and unobtrusive manners; but he possessed a liberality of sentiment on the topics which most agitate and interest Ireland, which do equal credit to his head and his heart. He then proposed—

“‘Sir Edward Denny, Bart., and the good People of Tralee.’ (Loud applause.)

“Maynard Denny, Esq., then rose and said, that he could not sit silent when his brother's health was drank in so flattering a manner. He begged to assure the company that it was the first wish of his brother, and, indeed, of his entire family, to merit the approbation and kindness of the gentry of this great and ever loyal county. (Hear, hear, hear, much applause.)

“The Chairman next proposed—

“‘The Rev. Stephen Creagh Sandes, and the Protestants of Kerry.’ (Three times three, cheering.)

“The Rev. Mr. Chute returned thanks for the honour conferred on his respected friend, Mr. Sandes, and the Protestants of this county.

“‘The Right Rev. Dr. Sugrue and the Roman Catholic Clergy of Kerry.’

“The worthy prelate then rose, and returned thanks, in a short, but very impressive speech, which we regret to say we can but feebly convey to our readers. Every word of it breathed the true spirit of Christian charity and conciliation. The substance of what fell from him, as well as we could collect, was, that the doctrines of perfect liberality and mutual affection had been those which he ever entertained and asserted, and which he had always instructed his clergy of every rank to inculcate on the minds of the people; and he confidently appealed

to his Protestant friends, whether those doctrines of liberality and charity towards all men had not been uniformly inculcated by the Roman Catholic clergy in Kerry.

“These doctrines were met, as he verily believed they always are, by a reciprocal liberality on the part of the other persuasions, and hence it was by the good sense and the good feelings of all parties that an uninterrupted cordiality and harmony prevailed in Kerry—and that, even in the worst periods of the rebellion, the county of Kerry had been pre-eminently distinguished by its loyalty, and had obtained the honour of being, in the fatal year 1798, styled by the then government of Ireland, ‘The unstained county.’ The excitement of religious dissension being taken away, there had been no difficulty in preserving the people in their allegiance; not a single soldier was quartered in Kerry during the worst periods of the year 1798; and the poor peasants of this county thus read a lesson to their rulers which ought to teach the inestimable value of religious concord and Christian liberality.

“For his own part, he claimed but a share of this merit—he had been countenanced and assisted by the highly respectable personages, the lord bishops of Limerick. He would boast of calling them his kind friends, and had often exchanged with them the endearing expression of brother bishop. The late lord bishop, Dr. Bernard, was an ornament to his age and country. As a classical scholar, as a polished wit, and as an accomplished gentleman, as well as a divine, he stood unrivalled.* The present lord bishop, Dr. Warburton, whom he was proud to call his friend, possessed as liberal and as large mind as he had ever met with, and was a very sincere friend to religious concord, and inculcated by his precept as well as by his example, that harmony and Christian charity amongst men of all persuasions which did honour to his rank and station. Thus fortified, he said, that he trusted there never would be found any change in the sentiments of all Christians in Kerry towards one another, and that they would ever maintain towards each other, their present liberality, harmony, and affection. The worthy prelate concluded amongst the cheers of the entire company.

“‘Stephen Henry Rice, Esq., and the Pure and Impartial Administration of Justice.’
(Three times three—great applause.)

“Mr. Rice returned thanks in an animated and pointed strain. He expressed his great pleasure that the gentlemen of Kerry should approve of his conduct. It was, he said, no merit to administer justice with impartiality amongst such men. He claimed no praise on that account. It was simply his duty, and those who knew him would easily believe, that he could have no inducement but the performance of that duty, to the best of his understanding, and according to his conscience. He begged leave to propose the health of

“‘Colonel Barry and the Gentlemen of Killarney.’

“Colonel Barry returned thanks.

“The Chairman then announced as the next toast—

“‘Sir Samuel Romilly and the persecuted Protestants in France.’

“Then followed—

“‘The Patriots of South America and a speedy and eternal Extinction to the Inquisition.’

“Both these toasts were drank with acclamations.

“‘The Bard of Erin—Thomas Moore.’

‘We cannot describe the enthusiasm with which this toast was received.’

Amongst the remaining toasts were--

“The Duke of Leinster, and the Resident Nobility of Ireland.’

“The Earl of Charlemont, the Hereditary Patriot of the Irish Nobility.’

“The Glorious and Immortal Memory of John Philpot Curran.’

“Our distinguished Countryman, Charles Phillips, and the Independence of the Irish Bar.’

“Sir Francis Burdett, and the Free Electors of Westminster.’

“The Hon. Douglas Kinniard, and the Reformers of Scotland.’

“Beecher Wrixon, Esq., and the Friends of Freedom in Mallow.’

“Messrs. Carew and Colclough, and the Popular Interest in the County of Wexford.’

“Alderman Waithman, and the Independent Livery of London.’

“Sir Robert Wilson, and the Friends of Reform in Southwark.’

“The President and Free People of North America, may they be bound in Bonds of Eternal Unity with these Countries.’

“Universal Benevolence.’

“During the evening there were also the healths drank of several of the nobility and gentry connected with Kerry. On that of the Earl of Kenmare being drank, Mr. Gallway returned thanks.

“Thomas Day, Esq., took occasion to propose the health, he said, of one of the most respectable gentlemen of the county,

“Maurice O'Connell, of Darrinane, Esq.’

“This toast having been received with distinguished applause, Mr. O'Connell returned thanks in a short and animated speech. He said he could answer for it, that his aged and venerated relative would be pleased and proud of the honour conferred that night on him and his family; delicacy restrained him from indulging his feelings in speaking of that venerable gentleman; but he might be permitted to say, that he afforded an admirable specimen of the ancient Milesian gentleman—courteous and polite, without either flattery or familiarity, dignified, yet affectionate, with the strongest judgment and kindest heart he had passed through a long life of happiness and prosperity, and was now reaching his ninetieth year, with his faculties and reason as distinct and clear as ever—with what was more remarkable, his cheerfulness as unclouded, and his natural gaiety as undiminished as in his early life—and what almost exceeded belief, but yet was literally true, with the affections of the kindly heart as warm, as animated, and as tender as if he were still a youth.

“From his precepts and example his family could derive no lessons but those of integrity and honour; and his family, notwithstanding his advanced age, might look forward to enjoy many years of those precepts and that example, and when his career should draw to its close, there never lived a human being over whose grave would be poured such sincere tears of filial piety, reverence, and love.

“Amongst the other toasts given were those of the high sheriff, Charles Herbert, Esq., which the Chairman prefaced by some pertinent remarks on the independent manner in which he had called the county meeting, to petition against the window tax.

“On the health of John Collis, of Barrow, Esq., being given, that gentleman returned thanks in a short speech.

“JOHN O'CONNELL, of Grenagh, Esq., begged leave to propose the health of a gallant young gentleman who had fought and bled in the service of his country, and who was likely to be at the head of a splendid fortune in Kerry, which, he was certain, he would do honour to by his liberality and independence.

“Captain Mullins’

was then drank with three times three.

"The CHAIRMAN having proposed the health of the Vice-President, John Stack, Esq., the latter returned thanks, and said, he availed himself of that opportunity to propose the health of an officer of high rank in foreign service, of whom Kerry had the honour to boast,

"Lieut.-General Daniel Count O'Connell."

"MR. O'CONNELL said, he again felt himself called upon to express his sense of the honour done to his respected relative.

"General O'Connell had left his native land at an early age, and had, before the revolution in France, risen from the rank of second lieutenant, to that of a general officer. In his progress he was not aided by influence or patronage, and even his nephew may, without delicacy, be permitted to say, that he had risen by the mere force of his talents and his virtues. He did, indeed, afford a bright but melancholy instance of the miserable impolicy of the penal code, which forced into the service of foreign and adverse states, the genius and the virtue of Irishmen.

"Never did any man more bitterly regret than General O'Connell the necessity which drove him from the service of his legitimate king, and his beloved country. He always speaks of that necessity in the language of sincere sorrow; and Ireland and Irishmen are only made more dear to his heart by absence. Never, indeed, did any man possess a more genuine Irish heart. His countrymen who met him in France would readily testify, that no human being ever possessed a more generous heart or ready hand. There was a benevolence around him which exceeded all his other brilliant qualities; and he rejoiced in his elevation, first, and principally, because it enabled him to be useful to numbers of his relatives and of his countrymen.

"This is not a picture drawn by the exaggerating hand of friendship. It is a mitigated sketch of a man who lives in the hearts of his friends, and is the most endearing of relatives. His country has, at length, reclaimed him, and he has at least this consolation, that he will die in the service of his native land, and that the good sense and the good feeling of the present day have for ever opened that service to Irishmen of every class and persuasion. Yes, my friends, we have this consolation, that whatever of genius or virtue arises in Kerry in future, they will no longer devote themselves to France or to Spain, but be consecrated to the service of Old Ireland.

A UNION MEMBER.

At the general elections which occurred in this year, Mr. O'Connell exerted himself strenuously in Kerry to procure the return of the Right Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry, and an incident of the election is thus alluded to by the latter gentleman, in a letter dated 6th November, 1818, published in the papers. We quote an extract from it as the testimony of a "*Union member*," and one yet living, to the broken promises, and evil operation of the act for which he unfortunately voted:—

"Mr. O'Connell having expressed an opinion much too flattering of my conduct, with the exception of my vote on the Union, I am made to say, 'that I thanked Mr. O'Connell for *explaining my conduct on the Union*, that Lord Cornwallis had shown me a distinct promise, written and signed by Mr. Pitt, by which the Union was to be followed by a total and unqualified Emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland.'

"I *did* say that I thanked my friend Mr. O'Connell (not for explaining), but for giving me an opportunity of explaining the motives which induced me to vote for the Union. I did not say that Lord Cornwallis had shown me the

paper, nor did I mention the name of Lord Cornwallis or of Mr. Pitt, or of any other person whatever, as connected with that measure. Neither did Mr. O'Connell say that he knew I longed anxiously to repeal the Union. None of these things were said, and therefore, though I may not respect more than you do the reasoning powers of the writer, and must allow that he may have been misled, as to his facts, it is necessary to destroy the foundation of his calumnious insinuations.

"Mr. O'Connell stated, and so did I, that I regretted my vote on the Union. I regret it, because all the predicted evils, and none of the promised benefits have resulted from it. I stated at the same time, that I had never given a vote with more honest intentions. That gross delusion had been practised to carry the measure, as the event proved. These delusions were more formally and authoritatively embodied in the speech of Mr. Pitt on that occasion. All this I have repeatedly stated in parliament, and in much stronger language than I ever used at a public meeting.

"If Lord Cornwallis had shown me a paper signed by Mr. Pitt, it must have been of a private nature, and it would have been a breach (not of a privy councillor's oath, as insinuated, for I was not then a privy councillor, but) of the honour of a gentleman to have betrayed it.

"Lord Cornwallis did give to me, not in confidence or secrecy, but expressly for circulation, a document which has been since frequently published and quoted, as containing the declaration of the then retiring cabinet. This also I have stated in parliament, but did not mention it at my election.

"I shall never shrink from avowing the motives, which, under the circumstances in which Ireland was, induced me to vote for the Union. I voted for the Union, to guard against the possible re-enactment of the penal laws, *which was contemplated*. To procure the extinction of mischievous political and religious distinctions among my countrymen, and to obtain a safer support and more dignified character to the Protestant Church, than is compatible with the present tithe system, more injurious to its clergy than even to the Catholic farmer."

CATHOLIC MEETING.

WE come to the year 1819. The first occurrence of note in which Mr. O'Connell's name appears was at a meeting of Catholics to express their gratitude, for a very well got up demonstration by the liberal Protestants of Ireland, at the Rotunda.

The Catholic inhabitants of the parishes of St. Andrew's, St. Anne's, and St. Mark's, assembled yesterday (Wednesday, 27th January), pursuant to public notice, in the committee-room of Townsend-street chapel. P. Curtis, Esq., in the chair. It was found necessary to adjourn to the body of the chapel.

After the preliminary forms had been gone through,

Mr. O'Connell offered himself to the attention of the meeting, and in a temperate, eloquent, and sensible speech, proposed the following resolutions, introducing each by remarks appropriate to itself:—

"RESOLVED—That we deem it our first duty to offer the tribute of our most grateful thanks to our esteemed and respected brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who have come forward with such distinguished liberality and cordiality to petition for our Emancipation.

“RESOLVED—That encouraged by their example and support, we do renew our application to the legislature, for the total repeal of the penal laws still affecting our body.

“RESOLVED—That a committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare the draft of a petition to the legislature, to be submitted to the meeting, namely—

“Mr. P. Curtis, Mr. O’Connell, Mr. J. Weldon, Mr. T. Fynn, Mr. Kernan, Mr. Hayes, Mr. Thomas Hay, Mr. James M’Auley, Mr. Terence Hughes, Mr. Nugent, Mr. William Ryder, Mr. Edward O’Rielly, Mr. Donelan, Mr. Michael Hughes, and Mr. Gordon.

“The draft of a petition having been prepared and read * * * * *

“The following is the draft of the petition :—

“PETITION.

“That your petitioners have repeatedly and respectfully, in their humble petitions, solicited the attention of this honourable house, to the multitudinous exclusions and disabilities by which his majesty’s faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, are afflicted in this their native land.

“That in our present application to the wisdom of the legislature, we are equally encouraged and delighted by the cordial co-operation of great numbers of our beloved countrymen, the Protestants of Ireland.

“That may it please this honourable house to understand those Protestants, in seeking for relief on our behalf, do thereby on their parts tender a sacrifice of the monopoly of the emoluments, powers, and honours of the state ; a sacrifice that must be attributed to the purest motives of such Christian charity and exalted benevolence, as entitle those Protestants (so we most humbly and respectfully submit) to great attention and consideration from this honourable house.

“That it is the anxious and earnest desire of your petitioners to live on terms of reciprocal charity and benevolence with our respected Protestant fellow-countrymen, and we desire the repeal of the excluding and restricting laws still in force against us, first, and principally, because those laws have a direct tendency to create and continue a spirit of irritation and ill-will, and to prevent that combination in affection and interest of all classes of his majesty’s subjects, which must, upon every emergency, afford the most sure defence to the throne, and most durable and stable support to the constitution.

“May it, therefore, please this honourable house, to take into consideration the unmerited privations and sufferings of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and the benevolent petitions of the Protestants of the land ; and, by granting the prayer of the Protestants of Ireland, to restore the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the full and equal participation of all the privileges and franchises of the constitution.”

Mr. Kirwan seconded the resolutions, and they were all passed with perfect unanimity.

Mr. O’Connell spoke in the most animated and enthusiastic terms of the liberality and beneficence of those estimable Irish

Protestants, who are at present preparing applications to parliament on behalf of their suffering Catholic brethren. He hailed, in glowing language, the dawn of friendship and affection, which has, at length, broken in upon Irishmen. He gave Earl Talbot's administration the praise of NEUTRALITY, at least upon the present momentous and memorable occasion: the slightest interference upon the part of his Excellency's government to check the course of generous feeling now so happily flowing through the country, was not, he said, to be traced; the propriety of petitioning he conceived to be unquestionable; much benefit always resulted from discussion—it assisted to enlighten the English people upon the subject of the belief, and morality, and condition of the Irish Catholics, and this was all that was necessary to the success of Emancipation.

It would long since have been granted, but that many well-meaning persons in England still believed that the Catholics hold those monstrous and abominable doctrines which have been so perseveringly and so falsely attributed to them—doctrines which he detested and disclaimed from the bottom of his soul. He spoke of the expediency of trying to procure the co-operation of the Catholic peers, peers' eldest sons, and baronets, in the application to the legislature; mentioned the Earl of Fingal, in the most respectful terms; and said it was the strongly expressed desire of the committee of gentlemen (above-named) who had revised the petition, that no topics should be introduced, no words made use of, which could by possibility give offence, or create division.

An application could not be made to parliament without expense. But a subscription of half-a-crown from each householder able to pay it, and none other should be applied to, would be amply sufficient to create a necessary fund. The account to be open for inspection in the committee room of Townsend-street chapel, every Sunday.

A few weeks after, Catholic gratitude was expressed at an aggregate meeting of the body.

GREAT CATHOLIC MEETING.

"THE largest and most respectable meeting of Catholics which ever took place in Ireland, was held yesterday (Monday, March 1st, 1819), in the old chapel in Mary's-lane—the Right Hon. the Earl of Fingal in the chair—for the purpose of *expressing, in the most marked manner, the gratitude of the Catholic body to the Protestants* who have lately come forward to petition parliament in their behalf

* * * * *

The following were the chief resolutions adopted :—

“RESOLVED—That impressed with a deep sense of the obligations which the Protestants of Ireland have conferred on us, their Catholic countrymen and brethren, we beg leave to return them our most sincere and heartfelt thanks for advancing the great objects of our petition to the legislature, by their wealth, their numbers, their talents, and their religion.

“RESOLVED—That while we express our gratitude to the general body of our Protestant friends and advocates, we consider ourselves particularly indebted to the justice and liberality of the Right Hon. Thomas M’Kenny, Lord Mayor, for giving them an opportunity to express their sense of the grievances, we, their Catholic countrymen and brethren, labour under, by which act of justice and liberality he has not only conferred an indelible obligation on us, but added a lasting splendour to the dignity of his office.”

Mr. O’Connell, who came late in the meeting, spoke to the following effect :—

It would be believed, without difficulty, that he knew no language which could adequately convey his thanks for the reception which he had experienced. It would be a rich reward for a life devoted to his country’s service. He owned he had come there desirous to mingle his feeble sentiments with the general voice of his country.

When he contemplated the elevated character of the noble chairman, and those of the other gentlemen surrounding him, who gave dignity to the meeting that had assembled for the purpose of expressing their thanks to their Protestant friends and brethren, he was at a loss how to express himself. He was not sorry that the sense of feeling should shame the language, rather than the language should shame the sense of feeling. He was gratified beyond all expression in seeing the noble lord and the gentlemen in their proper places—the friends, the patrons, and the advocates of Catholic Ireland. It augured well to their cause, that the union of their Protestant brethren should have brought about so happy a union amongst Catholics themselves.

When he looked back upon the state of his country ; when he looked back upon what she was, and the wretched figure she made, for whom God had done so much—sunk in indescribable misery, though possessing every natural advantage that could make her great and prosperous—with harbours and ports central to the whole world, and sufficiently capacious to receive the trade of that world, were it doubled—he was led to inquire, how could all this be ? It was by Catholics being opposed to Protestants and Dissenters—Protestants to Dissenters and Catho-

lics—and Dissenters, on the other hand, to both Catholics and Protestants.

But the happy, the glorious era, which must be immortal in the history of Ireland, had arrived ; yes, *had arrived*, and is no longer to be wished for, when these odious and devastating distinctions were removed. Protestants have assembled and expressed their honourable feeling on the claims of their Catholic friends and brethren. The first Protestant nobleman of the country, the Duke of Leinster, one of whose ancestors was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, on the broad plea of being "more Irish than the Irish themselves," whose diffidence became his youthful years—it was delightful to see him shaking off that diffidence, which, if it continued, must impede his political career, and leading on that glorious array of Protestant benevolence ; the Earl of Meath, always a friend and patron of Ireland ; Charlemont, whose name was music to Irish ears ; Grattan, whose eloquence and virtue raised Ireland into independence and liberty—the old patriot Grattan, who had given Ireland all she had, and would have made her all she ought to be.

To these he may add a long list of distinguished and patriotic friends in the government of the country. He would not dispraise even the corporation, much as he had been in the practice of censuring their contracted policy, That corporation which could boast of such a man as Alderman M'Kenny at its head, could not be destitute of virtue—could not be destitute of liberality. It had been usually understood that the office of chief magistrate conferred dignity on the man. In respect to Alderman M'Kenny, the man has conferred dignity on the office.

There were other worthy aldermen and members in the corporation, and for their sakes he would respect the whole body. Many had good and substantial motives for opposing their claims : they had sinecure places ; they had active places ; they had places in expectance ; they had pensions for opposing them ; they had patents for loyalty ; and these, surely, were substantial reasons. But the liberal and disinterested Protestants, who joined in their petition, were above such selfish considerations, and their generous and ardent collision of sentiment, with the warm gratitude of their Catholic friends and admirers, will raise a holy flame that shall warm and enliven the whole island. It was rumoured that a larger standing army than that for England would be necessary in Ireland, to maintain those exclusively

loyal gentlemen in their sinecure places, posts, and pensions. But he was extremely proud that they had applied to the army to obtain signatures to their petition. It displayed them in their true colours to government, and awakened that government to a sense of its danger. He was not in the habit of praising the government of Ireland, but he could not withhold his best praise from its present rulers. Their conduct was such as conciliated the love and approbation of the Catholic people, and the liberal of all persuasions.

He would read the orders issued to the army for their conduct; they mark the disposition of the present government in fair and legible characters, and show at the same instant the paltry means that were made use of to promote the ends of intolerant faction. [Here Mr. O'Connell read a passage or two respecting the Orange Lodges and swelling the list by apparent signatures.] Such have been the unconstitutional, but abortive efforts of the enemies to Ireland's prosperity, efforts which, for more than a century, had sunk her in misery and ruin. But Irishmen, Protestants as well as Catholics, have at length awakened from their lethargy, and a new era of happiness, peace, and prosperity opens on the union. No longer shall crowds of adventurers, disheartened by the gloomy prospects held out to them in this country, be found emigrating to the inhospitable wilds of America, in search of that independence and happiness which they should find more perfectly and securely at home. The co-operation of our Protestant brethren may not give us emancipation, but they have given us something better—a union of sentiment, love, admiration, and interests.

Let Catholics continue to deserve, and Protestants to reward with their good wishes and confidence, and the motto of Ireland in future be—

“GOD AND OUR NATIVE LAND!”

The question was then put on the resolution, and it was carried by acclamation.

In 1819, the “Irish Legion,” for the service of the “patriot” cause in South America, against the Spaniards, was formed, Mr. O'Connell taking an active part in assisting General D'Evereux, who had been deputed to this country for that purpose.

It is not necessary for us to intrude here upon the province of general history, to recall to our readers' recollection the circumstances under which the Irish South-American Legion was formed and went out; the permission and encouragement given by the minister, who sought to “create a new world,” to avenge himself for the enmities his policy encountered in the old; the glow of enthusiasm which prevailed in these countries on the subject, and the fair but ill-kept promises under which men were led to embark in the adventure.

Mr. O'Connell showed his earnestness and sincerity by risking his second son in it—Morgan O'Connell, then a young boy, who accepted a commission in one of the Hussar

regiments of the Legion, and went out under the care, and attached to the personal staff, of General D'Evereux, in the following year, 1820.

Gaily-attended military levees were held at Morrison's, and public dinners were given to celebrate the affair, and compliment the parties engaged in it; and in the latter Mr. O'Connell was prominently concerned, although we have not met with any report of his speeches on those occasions, sufficiently well-given to be inserted here.

LETTER TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

HURTING onward through the years of Catholic prostration that intervened between 1815 and the first dawns of the real "*Catholic Association*," we shall interpose as few comments as can at all be dispensed with, in the matters we have yet to lay before our readers, before approaching the interesting and important era above alluded to.

The following letter appeared, as the date tells, in October of the year 1819:—

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—I hope I shall not be deemed presumptuous in addressing you. The part I have taken in Catholic affairs induces me to expect that you will believe me to be actuated by no other motives than those of an honest and an ardent zeal to promote your interests and to attain your freedom.

"The period is at length arrived when we may ascertain, and place beyond any doubt, whether it be determined that we are for ever to remain a degraded and inferior class in our native land, and so to remain, without any one rational cause, or even any one avowable pretext. We may now reduce the enemies of liberty of conscience to this dilemma: either now to grant us emancipation, or to proclaim to us, and to the world, that as long as the parliament shall be constituted as it is at present, so long all hope of emancipation is to be totally extinguished.

"To this dilemma our enemies may be reduced; and it is a precious advantage to be able, for the first time in the history of Catholic affairs, to place them in a situation in which emancipation cannot be refused without an avowal of stern, unrelenting, and inexorable bigotry; or of worse—of a disposition to make use of bigotry as an instrument to perpetuate the divisions, dissensions, and consequent degradation and oppression of Ireland.

"Our enemies must now be frank and candid. They have not at present—and they will not have, unless we furnish it to them—any, the slightest pretence for resisting emancipation. The pretences which they hitherto used are all refuted and exploded. Where could the man now be found sufficiently audacious as to resist our claims on the stale pretences of Catholic illiberality, English hostility, or Irish turbulence?

“Catholic illiberality! Why, the man who should use that argument would now be laughed to scorn. He would be told that the first, last, and best examples of religious freedom have been given by Catholic states—Maryland, Hungary, and Bavaria would be triumphantly cited. In short, in every Catholic country in the world, possessing any share of popular government, liberty of conscience is already established.

“Even in Spain, the Cortes, of whom two-thirds were priests, proclaimed the liberty of the press, and abolished the Inquisition. We therefore can well afford to make a present to the bigots, of the petticoat-making tyrant of Spain, and of our other worthy ally of Portugal or Brazil; but we can proudly and confidently claim for Catholics the palm of liberality.

“No man can now state as a reason for rejecting our claims, the hostility of the people of England. It was a favourite topic with the bigoted part of the present administration. They admitted that emancipation would conciliate Ireland, but then they said that any advantages to be derived from such conciliation would be more than counterbalanced by the irritation and permanent discontent which, they alleged, any concession to the Catholics, would create in England.

“Oh, how egregiously they calumniated the intelligent, rational, and honest people of England! What a powerful refutation have the English people given to this calumny? In the voice of assembed myriads, they have proclaimed the utter falsehood of the base imputation. Seven centuries of oppression are already forgiven; and the English name, which we seldom pronounced with complacency, begins to sound sweetly in the ears of our children. May their rulers imitate the good sense of the English people, and speak to the heart of the Irish nation a language which she has never yet heard from an imperial legislature! But whether this useful lesson shall be thrown away on the English parliament or not, this much at least is certain—that no apprehension can be entertained of irritating the people of England by conceding to us our rights. It will gratify their generosity as much as it will propitiate our affections and ensure our gratitude.

“There remained one other pretext to colour the resistance to our claims—it was Irish turbulence; and where no *facts* of aggression would be adduced, we were then accused of being turbulent in *words*. And this was an argument to resist emancipation! Oh, most sapient legislators! Oh, most profound and enlightened statesmen of England! A nation was to continue

in slavery because some half dozen of demagogues or agitators, as you were pleased to call us, spoke with bitterness of their oppressions, and taunted with ridicule their oppressors!

"But even this poor and paltry pretence is gone by. Not a word, not a breath has escaped us for the last three years which could be found fault with by the most fastidious delicacy; and as to the conduct of the Irish people, it has been and it is exemplary—the most perfect calm reigns around—

"Nor leaf is stirred, nor wave is driven."

Not one sound disturbs our

"Death-like silence and our drear repose."

All is tranquillity, quietness, and peace. The enemies of every liberty, civil as well as religious, say that the English people are seeking a revolution. For my part, I utterly disbelieve the assertion; but I have the right to beg of our enemies to be consistent, and to admit that the people of Ireland show not the least symptom of a revolutionary tendency.

"No! all we desire—and, indeed, in common candour, it ought now to be acknowledged—is to be admitted into the pale of the constitution, and by pouring in fresh strength and young blood, to invigorate and to perpetuate genuine constitutional liberty, and to secure that constitution, and the throne on which it rests, as its surest and best basis from all attacks whatsoever.

"In order duly to appreciate the recent and present tranquillity of Ireland, its causes should be calmly and dispassionately investigated. He knows nothing of Ireland who imagines that ours is the quiet of content or of happiness. Alas! the sun does not shine on so wretched a country as Ireland. It is not my present purpose to discuss the causes of such misery, and still less to excite any angry passions against the authors of our present afflictions. I merely state a fact which he who ventures to deny does not need refutation. He would deny the daylight at noon. I am quite safe in not attributing our tranquillity to the absence of wretchedness, poverty, and misery. To what, then, is it to be attributed? I believe the answer is easy.

"The Irish have been so long disciplined in the school of misfortune, that they have acquired an experience which may in time instruct their teachers. There is an instinctive sensibility about them which almost by intuition leads them into the path of gratitude and of prudence. In the present instance they have demonstrated to the world that they possess those qualities to a degree which their enemies could not have believed, and

their friends did not perhaps expect. They have hitherto pursued the strict line of gratitude and of prudence ; and if we do but continue in the same track, we shall either obtain emancipation, or learn a new lesson, and adopt, with equal kindness of feeling, a more decided, and, I think, a more salutary course.

“There are three distinct causes for the existence of that gratitude in the minds of the Irish Catholics.

“The first is the manner in which our claims were received in the last sessions by the parliament, and especially by the House of Commons. The majority against us was merely nominal, and wore the appearance of accident. When any measure is supported by such a minority as voted for emancipation, it ought not to be difficult to foresee its approaching success. Accordingly, the postponement of our hopes was received by us with some disappointment, but without any irritation ; and to those who brought us so near success our feelings of thankfulness were lively and powerful. We are still under the impression of these feelings.

“The second source of our gratitude is to be found in the conduct of the present government of Ireland, especially that of the secretary. We are all aware that the Irish governors are the mere servants of their lords and masters in the cabinet of England. They have but little in their power of active service. They cannot do much *active* good, but they can do, and the present governors have done, much *passive* service. They have maintained an honourable and just neutrality ; they have carefully abstained from fanning the flame of bigotry ; they have given no countenance, no protection to the excitors of discord—to the promoters of religious rancour. In truth, bigotry is an exotic in Ireland, and requires the hot-bed of Castle corruption and Castle influence in order to rear it into poisonous maturity. Take from it that corrupt influence, and it withers at once, as it has now done, before the native and unadulterated breath of Irish kindliness. The neutrality of the Castle has accordingly put an end to a fertile source of dissension and irritation, and for that neutrality the members of the Irish government deserve, and have obtained, our sincere thanks.

“But the third and best cause of our gratitude remains to be told. It is to be found in the conduct of the Protestants of Ireland ; all that Ireland can boast of Protestant rank, fortune, talent and independence, came forward to assert on our behalf the great principle of religious liberty. Amongst the glorious constellation of names, friends to liberality, stands pre-eminent

that of the late lord mayor of Dublin, Alderman M'Kenny. For the first time in Irish history, a lord mayor of Dublin presided at a meeting intended and calculated to promote genuine loyalty and cordial conciliation.

"I confess the recollection of the efforts made by the highest Protestant worth in Ireland to procure our emancipation, fills my mind with the most powerful sensations of gratitude ; but there is, after all, something more exquisitely soothing in the exertions of a more humble class—I mean the Protestant inhabitants of Dublin, many of them in the lowest situations in life, who, at their parish meetings, either followed or helped to lead the efforts of the superior ranks of society. It is to those parish meetings—it is to this domestic exhibition of Protestant kindness and genuine liberality of sentiment, that I look with the fondest affection. Here were found my Protestant countrymen, in the gratification of their unadulterated hearts, showing the true spirit of Christianity, by doing to others what they would desire to have done to themselves. I honestly believe that the extinction of religious feuds throughout nine-tenths of the land, which we have witnessed for the last nine or ten months, has been principally owing to the certainty of reconciliation which the Protestant parish meetings held out.

"I do not mean to detract from the merits of the Duke of Leinster and the lord mayor, and the other noblemen and gentlemen who evinced their patriotic liberality. Their conduct was above all praise ; but the good feeling exhibited itself still in a more useful channel amongst those classes of life who know not how to disguise, and who cannot mitigate their sentiments. It was, indeed, the first blossom of Irish unanimity, and has borne good fruit, in the extinction of ancient animosities, and in the production of a disposition towards tranquillity, peace, and good will.

"The Irish people have hitherto acted from these impulses. Whilst England has been agitated to her centre, Ireland has remained perfectly tranquil. Let our conduct not be mistaken. Let it not be imagined that we are insensible to the blessings of universal liberty, or careless of the unjust state of parliamentary representation—quite the reverse ; but we deemed it right in gratitude to our Protestant neighbours—in duty to ourselves and our children, to abstain from any conduct which might endanger the advantages of our present situation. We have taken away all pretexts from our enemies. Let us continue the same line of conduct until *our fate* is decided in this session. I say, *our fate*—because if we are now rejected, who can ever hope again ?

“Now we have the Protestants of Ireland for us ; now we have the people of England for us ; now we have the multitudinous examples of Catholic liberality for us ; now we are, in our conduct without reproach—in our tranquillity exemplary. In what way can our petition be rejected ? It can be rejected *only* by reason of *future* misconduct ; it can be rejected only by our own fault or our own folly. This is my firm and decided opinion ; perhaps I am mistaken ; but it surely is worth while to try the experiment.

“The session of parliament commences in one short month. There is not one moment to be lost. Perhaps it would be wise *immediately* to address the Prince Regent ; that I submit to your consideration. At all events, it is obviously our policy to press forward our question at the earliest possible period next session.

“Let us, then, my countrymen, meet ; let us prepare our petitions ; let those petitions be numerous ; let them be unanimous, and confined to the single object of emancipation. We shall, probably, succeed ; but if we do not, at least we shall have deserved to succeed ; and we shall have the farther advantage, that of ascertaining the hopelessness of again petitioning for emancipation.

“You will be told that you should despise emancipation as a minor and unworthy consideration, and join the almost universal cry of reform. Do not be carried away by any such incitement. No man is more decidedly a friend to reform than I am. In theory I admit the right to universal suffrage ; and I admit that curtailing the duration of parliament would be likely to add to its honesty. Nay, I am ready to go to the fullest possible practical length to obtain parliamentary reform. But we have a previous duty to perform ; a favourable opportunity now presents itself to add to the general stock of liberty, by obtaining our emancipation ; and the man would, in my judgment, be a false patriot, who, for the chance of uncertain reform, would fling away the present most propitious moment to realize a most important and almost certain advantage.

“Such, my countrymen, are the honest opinions—such is the conscientious advice of one of yourselves. I may be mistaken ; but I feel certain that you will admit the purity of the motives which actuate me.

“Should, indeed, our present petition be rejected—should we be again causelessly and capriciously scouted by the present parliament, why, then, I, for one, shall certainly be the last to advise you further to pursue what will then be demonstrated to be a

helpless and a hopeless course, and although I shall not advise you to throw the sword or the pike into the scale of reform, I will be ever ready to exert all that I may possibly possess of influence—if any I do possess—to induce you to join in a peaceable and constitutional pursuit of that reform without which we must, if we are now rejected, ever despair of emancipation.

“In the meantime, let us make one last effort—let it be universal, unanimous, single. And let us hope that the prayer of our respectful and dutiful petition will be attended to, and that the British legislature will see the wisdom of conciliating the people of Ireland, of gratifying the people of England, and reciprocating the sentiments and examples of Christian charity held out to them by Catholic legislators and Catholic nations.

“I am, fellow-countrymen, your faithful and obedient Servant,
“DANIEL O'CONNELL.

“Merrion-square, October 22nd, 1819.”

“CATHOLIC SUB-SHERIFFS.

(FREEMAN, 24TH FEBRUARY, 1820.)

WE have been favoured with the following opinion, given on a subject of such importance, that we deem no apology necessary for its publication:—

“OPINION OF DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ.

“This is a subject which I have considered attentively; and my *own* opinion is distinctly formed on it. But that opinion must be taken subject to what I call the *practical* qualification after mentioned.

“The quære put to me has a double aspect; and, in truth, involves two questions. The first is, whether a Catholic is incapable of being sub-sheriff? The second is, whether there be any penalty attached to his acting as such?

“I shall begin with the latter, because that may be disposed of at once. There is not any penalty whatsoever imposed on a Catholic for acting as, or being sub-sheriff.

“This is a point on which no lawyers can differ, and it is highly important in deciding the other question.

“With regard to the first, I am of opinion that a Catholic is capable of being sub-sheriff.

“This, however, being a point upon which difference of opinion does subsist, and, in truth, one in which the contrary opinion to

nine has been generally entertained, I deem it right to give the reasons which induce me to form my judgment on the subject.

“It is very important to observe that the general principle on which the *penal laws* against Catholics created exclusion was, by interposing oaths as qualifications, which no Catholic could, with a safe conscience, take. It was not an exclusion to the Catholic directly, and as such it was a *consequential* exclusion which those statutes created—an exclusion in consequence of not taking *those* oaths.

“The Catholics, therefore, would not have been excluded any more than the Protestant, by the direct operation of the general penal laws. Both were liable to the same penalty for not qualifying; and both were rendered equally secure from the effect of incurring such penalty by the annual indemnity act.

“Thus far the matter is plain under the general *penal statutes*, and if the question rested on the general law alone, there could be no doubt.

“But there is a particular statute on this subject—namely, the 1st of Geo. I. c. 20; the section is the 4th.

“I admit that such section does, at first sight appear decisive against a Catholic being sub-sheriff; and it is the apparent force of that enactment, and the general spirit of bigotry in which the *penal code* was administered, which have caused the idea to be universally received that a Catholic cannot be sub-sheriff. It remains to be seen whether the idea be well-founded. The statute in question was passed to compel convert Protestants to educate their children in the Protestant religion, *considering none other as legal Protestants*. Such is the effect of the 2nd and 3rd sections of the act. Then the 4th section commences with a proviso and enactment, that no person shall be capable of being sub-sheriff, or sheriff's clerk, who shall not have been for five years before a Protestant according to *that act*. Now, the meaning of such enactment appears clearly to point out a particular class of Protestants, who are excluded; and this is placed, in my humble opinion, beyond cavil by the remaining part of the sentence, for the entire section is but *one sentence*, which says—“*And that all and every person or persons offending herein shall be subject*”—to what punishment? Why, to be considered as a *Papist*.

“It seems, therefore, to my mind, quite plain that the act cannot create that as a crime *in a Papist*, as to which *every person* who should commit it was to be punished by being constituted by law a *Papist*.

“The construction of the section, therefore, is, that it created

an incapacity in, and inflicted a penalty on, a particular description of Protestants; but that it was not meant or intended to operate against, and has provided no kind of punishment for Papists *offending therein*.

"The truth is, that abominable code was dictated by a virulent, but a *muddy* spirit of bigotry; its enactments were, in very many instances, excessively slovenly; and there exist not a few instances in which the legislature, in its contemptuous hatred for Catholics, took for granted that they were *incapable* of employments, although no such incapacity really existed. The case of Catholic schools is a familiar instance.

"The statute of 1793 does not alter, or affect to alter, the law as against the Catholics. Indeed, it would operate decidedly in their favour in this particular, according to the grammatical construction of the premisal in that statute. See the 9th section of the 33rd Geo. III. c. 21. That section uses the disjunctive, OR, as to all the excluded offices, until it comes to the office of second AND third sergeants. It then takes up the *or* again, till it comes to the generals on the staff, and it uses AND as to sheriffs and sub-sheriffs. Now, if grammar be preserved, it is the *cumulation* of those offices which is prohibited, and the *individual* office is not within the exclusion, unless in a penal and disabling section, AND shall be read precisely as if it were OR, and that, too, where there is good sense in leaving it in its conjunctive meaning, and where the legislature, in the same sentence, has repeatedly used the disjunctive, OR, in its natural and appropriate meaning. But in forming my opinion on the general topic, I think it right at present not to lay any stress on the statute of 1793.

"I have already said that I gave this opinion, subject to a *practical* qualification. It is this—The spirit of the penal laws has survived the existence of the greater part of them; and although that spirit is much mitigated, it still exists in body and in pressure. The penal statutes are, therefore, less likely to be fairly canvassed than any other; and without insinuating individual reproach, I must say, that *in practice* I should feel less confidence in a favourable construction upon this than upon any other subject.

"There can be no doubt that a Catholic can be sheriff's clerk, and can assist the sheriff in every particular, as such; leaving between such sheriff's clerk and a regular sub-sheriff little distinction, save in name.

" DANIEL O'CONNELL.

SPEECH AT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE MEETING,
RELATIVE TO THE DUBLIN ELECTION.

TUESDAY, JUNE, 13TH, 1820.

We are met on this melancholy occasion to celebrate the obsequies of the greatest man Ireland ever knew. The widowed land of his birth, in mourning over his remains, feels it is a nation's sorrow, and turns with the anxiety of a parent to alleviate the grief of the orphan he has left. The virtues of that great patriot shone brilliant, pure, unsullied, ardent, unremitting, glowing. Oh! I should exhaust the dictionary three times told, ere I could enumerate the virtues of Grattan.

In 1778, when Ireland was shackled, he reared the standard of independence; and in 1782 he stood forward as the champion of his country, achieving gloriously her independence! Earnestly, unremittingly, did he labour for her—bitterly did he deplore her wrongs—and if man could have prevented her ruin—if man could have saved her, Grattan would have done it!

After the disastrous act of Union, which met his most resolute and most determined opposition, he did not suffer despair to creep over his heart, and induce him to abandon her, as was the case with too many others. No; he remained firm to his duty in the darkest adversity—he continued his unwearied advocacy of his country's rights. Of him it may be truly said in his own words—

“He watched by the cradle of his country's freedom—he followed her hearse!”

His life, to the very period of his latest breath, has been spent in her service—and he died, I may even say, a martyr in her cause.

Who shall *now* prate to me of religious animosity? To any such I will answer, by pointing to the honoured tomb of Grattan, and, I will say—“There sleeps a man, a member of the Protestant community, who died in the cause of his Catholic fellow-countrymen!”

I have been told that they would even rob us of his remains—that the bones of Grattan are to rest in a foreign soil! Rest? No! the bones of Grattan would not rest any where but in their kindred earth. Gentlemen, I trust that we shall yet meet to interchange our sentiments of mixed affliction and admiration over a monument of brass and marble, erected to the memory

of the man whose epitaph is written in the hearts of his countrymen !

Gentlemen, I do not come here with a womanly feeling, merely to weep over our misfortune—though heaven is my witness, that my heart is heavy. I come not here to pay a vain tribute to the dead. To do justice to the name of Grattan, would require an eloquence equal to his own ; but I ask myself, I ask you, how we can best atone and compensate our country for the loss she has sustained ? It is by uniting as brothers and as Irishmen, in returning a representative for our city, not unworthy of filling the place of him who raised the standard of universal charity and Christian benevolence. Yet, in this hallowed moment of sorrow, ere yet his sacred remains have been consigned to earth, the spirit of discord would light the torch of fanaticism, and set up the wild halloo of bigotry and persecution. “ May God in heaven forgive them, they know not what they do.”

Gentlemen, will they call this religion—will they profane the sacred name of religion—the religion of Grattan—by such a presumptuous assertion, such an invidious distinction ? They will not, they cannot.

No ; gentlemen, I trust for the sake of human nature, that filthy lucre is their object—personal pelf their motive.

Mr. Chairman, we have a duty to perform ; two candidates offer themselves to our consideration—of one, perhaps, it is sufficient to say, that he is the son of Grattan. Of the other—who is he ? His name is Thomas Ellis ! !

Well, gentlemen, where are the credentials of this man, who would presumptuously fill the greatest niche ever left vacant in the history of our country ? Of course, he is a man of eloquence, talent and knowledge, and has unremittingly attended to the wants and wishes of Ireland. He has, I believe, practised at the bar, but we have never seen a volume of his speeches, like the eloquent Phillips, nor have we ever heard of his talents, and I suppose it was in his room, two-pair of stairs backwards, in the Four Courts, that he has studied the prosperity of Ireland !

Well, gentlemen, has he knowledge ? Alas ! here we find him equally deficient. Oh ! but we require too much. If, then, he has neither eloquence, talent, patriotism, nor knowledge, perhaps he has leisure ? No ! the duties of his situation, for which he gave TEN THOUSAND POUNDS, require his constant and unremitting attention, and really it is but fair, that he should receive some interest for his money. But, gentlemen, what does

he say for himself? I shall read his own words for you [Here Counsellor O'Connell read a part of Mr. Ellis's address from a newspaper.] So gentlemen, he tells you himself, that "professions are always suspicious, and, in general, insincere;" and he proceeds in the next sentence to make professions! He first tells you that they are suspicious and insincere, and he then offers them to you!!! Gentlemen, Cæsar's wife should not only be pure, but she should be above suspicion. Is Ireland so fallen, that this man, thrust forward by a faction, is to be forced upon a people. Can so savage a faction be found, that at the shrine of Grattan, would seek to foment the bloody strife of Christian animosity?

Gentlemen, I have seen my country a nation, with her peers in the land, and her senators about us; we have lived to see her a province. Our petitions are forwarded through the post-office, and even now bigotry and persecution would bow before their filthy idol. Yet, in speaking of the present state of my country, perhaps I may be permitted to pay the humble tribute of my praise to Earl Talbot, and the Chief Secretary, Mr. Charles Grant, for their impartial conduct as connected with its government. I speak not this as seeking any place for my cousin, or any other relative—I leave that to those police officers who had better adhere to their stations, than interfere in the election of a candidate to represent this city. I would not see the representation of this city made the property of a stationer, or paper manufacturer to give to whom he pleases.

Gentlemen, young Mr. Grattan has always acted an open, upright, honest, candid IRISH part; he bears a name that can never be forgotten or neglected in Ireland; he is the only legacy his father has left to his country, and where is the Irishman who will refuse to act as executor?

Gentlemen, it may be asked, why is not young Mr. Grattan here! Oh! let no man reproach him that he is not here. Alas! he is paying the last sad duties to his lamented father.

An anonymous letter has just been put into my hands, gentlemen, convening a meeting of the friends of Mr. Ellis, and calling upon them to support him as the most loyal and constitutional candidate. I ask you who is the most loyal man? Is it not him who would support the dignity, and strengthen the security of the throne, by encircling it with the affections of the people? I ask you now who is the least loyal man? Is it not him who would weaken the resources of the constitution,

by shutting out a great portion of the subjects of the realm from a just and equal enjoyment of its advantages?

But, gentlemen, this letter is even misspelled, and that in the very first sentence. [Here Mr. O'Connell noticed, in the letter, the spelling of one word "CANDITATE."] The letter concludes, by requesting the friends of Mr. Ellis to wear Orange ribbons in their breasts. I conjure my countrymen to wear no party emblems, but let the name of Ireland be engraven on their hearts.

I ask all those around me do they love their country? Let every man that hears me carry my question home with him. I entreat you all, by one great effort, to save your country even now, whilst the children of her manufacturers are starving, whilst her shop-keepers are without business, her merchants shuddering, and her banks breaking. Still, still, she is worth saving—worth! Oh! what is she not worth, possessing the greenest land, the finest harbours, and the richest verdure? Celebrated even in song, for the beauty of her vales, possessing a people brave, generous, and hospitable, is she not worth saving? Gentlemen, we have a duty to perform, let no man shrink from it—it is not mine alone, but yours (looking round to different gentlemen), and yours, and yours, and yours. Let us unite to put down bigotry—it is the cause of our country that is at stake; let us rally round that cause, and let our motto be "*Grattan and Ireland!*"

In giving utterance to these sentiments, which were enthusiastically applauded, Mr. O'Connell was speaking the sincerest feelings of his heart. It had, unfortunately, been necessary for him, in the strict discharge of his duty to Ireland, to differ from that great man on more than one occasion, and to differ very widely too. The "veto," or "securities" question, was a notable instance in this respect, as the reader has seen not many pages back. But he ever recognized to the fullest, the genius and the great services of Henry Grattan, and often took pleasure in declaring in private, as well as many times in public, that he looked upon his own efforts as the mere carrying out of the good work of Irish legislative independence, begun by Grattan in 1782.

The "veto" question to which we have just made reference, now began, in some measure, to be stirred again, and on Wednesday the 14th of June, 1815, a meeting of Catholics was held at D'Arcy's tavern, to consider and decide what member of parliament should be entrusted with the petitions of the Catholics, now that Mr. Grattan was gone. Catholic opinion, though very feeble in its reviving efforts, had yet made sufficient advance to secure that no one should be chosen for this trust, whose sentiments were not in accordance with those of the sound Catholic majority in Ireland, on the subject of "*securities.*" Some chance omissions in the report produced the following letter from Mr. O'Connell.

CATHOLIC AFFAIRS.,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUBLIN EVENING POST.

Merriion-square, 17th June 1826.

"SIR—The short report of the proceedings of the Catholics who met at D'Arcy's, on Wednesday last, which you gave in your last paper, is quite correct as far as it goes ; but it does not contain the *whole* truth. It is, I think, my duty to give the public some further information on the subject. This duty seems to me imperative—because I think we are upon the eve of another struggle—to preserve from all encroachment the discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

"I may be much mistaken, but it is my firm and decided belief, that the greatest peril which that Church has in these latter years encountered now awaits her. I may also be laughed at for raising the cry of 'the Church in danger;' but I am quite content to endure any portion of ridicule, provided I am of any utility in rousing the Catholic people of Ireland from the destructive apathy in which they are now sunk.

"My present design is to give a few facts to the public; I shall, in another letter, with your permission, go into further details.

"The gentlemen who have been in the habit of meeting at D'Arcy's, in Essex street, and many who have *not* been in the habit of meeting there, have, on the death of Mr. Grattan, resolved to give him a successor. We have, I believe, no kind of authority for doing so, save our wish to avoid the difficulty of another aggregate meeting. A committee was accordingly appointed to consider of and report a fit person to present our petition to parliament. The Committee met on Monday last, and, after a good deal of discussion, these three resolutions were *unanimously* passed :—

"1st—That a delegation from the Committee should wait on Mr. Plunket, respectfully to inquire if he would support the prayer of our petition for relief, unconnected with, and unqualified by, any ecclesiastical restrictions or regulations.

"2nd—That such delegation should report, *in writing*, to the Committee the answer of Mr. Plunket.

"3rd— That in case Mr. Plunket should not think fit to give a distinct answer *in the affirmative*—the Committee would report the Knight of Kerry, as a fit person to present our petition."

"Such were, in substance, and, as I recollect, in words the resolutions of Monday last ; I give them from memory, but, I believe, with a good deal of accuracy.

“The delegation was appointed ; they had the honour of an interview with Mr. Plunket ; they were received by him with great courtesy, and they obtained from him a written reply

“Of that reply I have a copy ; it was read repeatedly at the last meeting, but it cannot be published ; it is impossible we should publish it, and I deeply and bitterly regret that it is so, because it contains matter, in my humble judgment, of vital importance. But it is impossible to publish it, for this reason, that in answer to a question from one of the delegation on the subject of publishing, Mr. Plunket expressed an opinion that it ought not to be published, and the delegation expressly agreed not to publish it. This is a compact which cannot be violated.

“I am, therefore, constrained from giving any of its contents. But I may say what it does *not* contain—and it certainly does not contain an affirmative reply to the question in the foregoing first resolution—or any thing at all like *an affirmative reply* to that question. The duty, consequently, of the Committee was at an end—they were bound by their own unanimous resolution to have reported the Knight of Kerry, as the person to be applied to, in order to present our petition. That was their plain duty under these circumstances—‘*Sed Dis aliter visum.*’ Without rescinding the former resolution, a motion was made to report Mr. Plunket—a division took place—there were seven for the motion—seven against it—and it was decided in the affirmative by the casting vote of the chairman (Lord Fingal). Upon this contradictory proceeding, some other gentlemen, with me, seceded from the Committee, and repaired to the general meeting, where I moved an adjournment until Wednesday next, the 21st instant, which, after a long and most desultory debate, was carried in the affirmative, as already mentioned in your paper.

“There cannot be a more efficient advocate than Mr. Plunket —I have no difficulty in saying that he is beyond any comparison the most powerful advocate in either country—England or Ireland. The only possible objection to him can arise from his opinions on the subject of legislating, not for the civil rights, but for the religious doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland—no man in existence more fit for the one, and there cannot, in my judgment, be any person more unfit for the other ; and the reason why I think him thoroughly unfit to legislate for the religion or discipline of the Catholic Church is one which does him no discredit. It is because he entertains conscientious objections to the allowing our ecclesiastical discipline to remain

in its present state ; I respect his conscience, but I will preserve my own.

“To my judgment, no emancipation can be of any avail, but such as shall be satisfactory to all parties. It should not participate in any, even the slightest degree of a victory by the Catholics over the Protestants. On the contrary, it should come as a kind concession from the Protestants, and be received in the spirit of affectionate gratitude by the Catholics. It should, in short, be precisely similar to the relief granted in 1778—to that conceded in 1782—to that bestowed in 1792—and, finally, to that of 1793. In those years there was no mention of any interference with the discipline of the Catholic Church. The Irish parliament felt that, as Protestants, they were incompetent to form a just notion of the details of our religion, and as legislators, that the best and only security for the state was in our affections and allegiance.

“The experience of upwards of forty years has shown that the Irish course of emancipation was as *secure* as it was *beneficent*. Why should it be *now* departed from ?

“For the present, I shall only add—that our first duty seems to be to procure emancipation *as Catholics*, if we can—and if we cannot, then, *as Catholics*, to remain unemancipated. In either event, to remain *Catholics* in discipline as well as in doctrine.

“I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

“DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

CATHOLIC MEETING.

THURSDAY, JUNE 22ND, 1820.

The adjourned Catholic meeting was held at D’Arcy’s, in Essex-street, on Thursday. It was so numerously attended that there was scarcely accommodation in the house; the rooms, lobbies, stair-head, &c., were all crowded.

John O’Connell, Esq. * having been called to the chair—

Counsellor O’Connell rose and addressed the meeting nearly to the following effect:—

Gentlemen, I hold in my hand some resolutions, which I beg leave to preface by a few observations. I deem it necessary to submit these resolutions to the sense of the meeting, previous to

* Brother to Mr. O’Connell, for many years a resident landed proprietor of the county Kerry, greatly and justly esteemed and respected, and now (November, 1853), recently dead at Havre, in France.

the question on Mr. Plunket's being entrusted with our petition being put ; and should these resolutions be carried, I shall move that a copy of them be forwarded to the Right Hon. the Earl of Donoughmore, and also to whoever shall be selected to present our petition to the House of Commons.

Gentlemen, the Catholic prelates and the Catholic people have already declared that they will not accept of Emancipation interfering in the slightest degree with the discipline of the Catholic Church. It is now for this meeting to say whether it will act in direct opposition to the Catholic prelates and the Catholic people, their objections to the veto being unaltered and unalterable.

I trust, gentlemen, that this question may be fairly discussed, and without any warmth or recrimination ; and I protest, for myself, that I do not mean in anything that may fall from me, the slightest disrespect to any man. (Hear, hear.) And I may be permitted to say, that if offence be taken, when completely unintentional on my part, it must arise from some consciousness of impropriety.

For myself, I seek neither place, pension, nor power ; and I protest against any vetoistical arrangements, which we cannot accede to without violating our express engagement with the Catholic people, and going in direct opposition to the Catholic bishops. Gentlemen, it is my wish to avoid topics of irritation, but the time has arrived when it is the paramount duty of every Catholic to preserve the purity of his religion from that most obnoxious of all measures—the veto.

Gentlemen, you have been told—Mr. Plunket has told you—that “conditions and securities are just and necessary.” For the first time, gentlemen, you have been told this by any person advocating your cause. Mr. Plunket has, in this, gone farther than any of your former advocates. They only said that they would agree to conditions to obtain Emancipation, but Mr. Plunket tells you that it is his own fixed opinion that “conditions and securities are just and necessary.” Is not this plain ? Does any gentlemen wink so strongly that he cannot see this meant an infringement on the doctrine of the Catholic church ? Mr. Plunket requires conditions and securities. Mr. Woulfe said on the last day we met, that he would tell us what these conditions and securities were, or to what they related, but he sat down, gentlemen, without giving that most desired explanation.

Some gentlemen have mentioned “domestic nomination ;” but, Mr. Chairman, the Catholic bishops have already declared

that *any* interference of the British parliament in the nomination of the Catholic clergy would lead to schism. It has been said that Mr. Plunket does not mean the veto. Can any man in solitude and silence consider on it, and have a second idea upon the subject? Gentlemen, he does mean it. Much has been said of Mr. Plunket's private opinions. Anything of this kind falls upon me like the idle wind. I stand here upon his own express words, "that conditions and securities are just and necessary." I repeat it, What can this mean, except veto? The Catholic people have already given their allegiance; they have given, through taxation, their property; they have also given their blood and their oaths. What is there in addition—what else remains—except their religion? I will not be led away by the declamation of any gentleman, but meet them fairly on this question foot to foot. You have given your allegiance, your property, your lives, and your oaths; and I now ask you, and I ask them, what else remains? Nothing, gentlemen, but your religion.

On the 26th of May, 1814, the Catholic prelates met; they then denied, as their ancestors had done, the authority of parliament to legislate for their religion. That opinion was confirmed by the public document of a synod held on the 24th August, 1814, which declared—

"That any power vested in the Crown of Great Britain relating to the spiritual or ecclesiastical regulations of the Catholic religion must essentially injure, and would eventually subvert, the principles of that religion."

If, as has been said, we are on the eve of Emancipation, can any Catholic be found so eager for his mess of pottage, that he would greedily swallow the poison with the food. The aggregate meetings, over and over, have condemned the veto—the Catholic prelates have condemned it; and now, when Mr. Plunket differs with them, it is for you to say whether you will adopt his opinion or theirs.

The depression of the country has caused a change within the last three years, that it might have taken a century, under a different state of circumstances, to bring about. Many from their own wants, and from the general distress, have been obliged to quit their country, and seek in distant lands that subsistence which their exertions at home have proved ineffectual to procure. We are now acting with a new class of men, and it is necessary to arouse them from the state of apathy in which they appear to be sunk.

Now, while Spain is free—France, Germany, and other countries on the Continent in a state of alarm and inquietude, por-tending, perchance, their deliverance also—it is impossible that the people of these kingdoms can be retained in abject and un-constitutional subjection and prostration. In this country the bigots at last are compelled to confess among themselves the im-possibility of long withholding emancipation; and so they would fain *discount* it. They would fritter away its value as much as they could; force failing them, they are resorting to every ex-pedient of miserable and odious fraud. Look to the Kildare-street Society, established for the education of Irish children—necessarily of *Catholic* children. Watch their efforts and man-cœuvres! See how insidiously they go to work!—how active and persevering in their efforts to pervert the youthful mind of Ireland! Look to the tract distributions, and the proselytizing societies of every name and shape, in every quarter, and say, do I allude to things of imagination? Are not these facts, realities, most necessary to be duly appreciated, attended to, and coun-teracted? How necessary, then, that we should show at least an equal vigilance with our enemies!

I trust that we have still sufficient allies in our own camp to put down, by their resistance this day, any and every attempt, under whatever form or colour, that is being made to interfere, in the slightest degree, with the established regulations of the religion to which we are ever inviolably attached.

Gentlemen, I shall now read the resolutions. They are as follows:—

“RESOLVED—That the Catholic people of Ireland adhere strictly to the sentiments contained in the resolutions of the Catholic prelates in 1813 and 1814, against any interference by the Crown, or by the Legislature, in the regulations of the Catholic religion.”

The resolutions in question were quoted. They have been given already in this work.

“That this meeting concurring therein, do hereby declare that, as Catholics, they cannot accept of any measure of relief as a boon, which may be accompanied by conditions having a tendency to destroy, or even to injure their religion.

“2. RESOLVED—That the Protestant parliament of Ireland, in the years 1778, 1782, 1792, and 1793, conceded to their Catholic fellow-subjects various important privileges and rights, and that they did so without requiring any other security than the oaths and affections of the Catholics of Ireland.

“And that experience has fully justified the benevolent policy of the Irish Protestant parliament in that respect; and that we do seek for, and desire to obtain the remaining liberties and rights still withheld from

us by the penal code, upon no other terms than such as were deemed sufficient by, and satisfactory to, the Irish parliament."

Two more resolutions followed, but, having given the principal, we resume Mr. O'Connell's speech:—

Such are the resolutions, gentlemen, which I mean to submit to the present meeting, and I beg of you to consider the urgent importance of their receiving your sanction.

It has been asserted of me that my objecting to Mr. Plunket is the mere fruit and consequence of private animosity. Of him I am bound and happy to say, that although upon politics we unhappily differ, I have ever received from that gentleman—and trust I have endeavoured, so far as lay in my power, to return them—the most marked civility, kindness, and courtesy. But even if I had received a slight, they know little indeed of me who could for a moment suppose that I would ever hesitate to sacrifice any private feeling of resentment or annoyance to the permanent interest of either my country or my religion.

But, gentlemen, the tribunal before which your advocate lays your petition, has not the means of understanding the religion on which it has to decide. They have sworn that our religion is impious and idolatrous. That oath still continues, harrowing up our inmost feelings. I will not, I cannot trust myself to dilate on this subject. The *Edinburgh Review*, gentlemen, the *liberal Edinburgh Review*, speaks of the "harlot embraces" of the Catholic Church, in terms fit only for some prurient tale of prostitution! Pamphlets, magazines, histories, newspapers, novels, tales, &c., &c.—they are all at work—all assailing—all endeavouring to misrepresent and blacken the character of our holy religion. Will you go to the men who have taken the oaths I speak of—who profess the hostile principles and opinions that perverted literature thus labours to spread and confirm—will you go to *them* to decide upon a question of such vital importance?

* * * * *

["Here (says the newspaper report) a gentleman in the body of the meeting asks, 'Why go to them at all?']

"Mr. O'Connell proceeded—

Some gentleman has asked, 'why go to them at all?' I answer, certainly not at all, certainly never, for any interference in the sacred concerns of our religion. We address them as the highest authority recognised by the laws of those countries, for a full and unqualified restoration of our rights."

A discussion of some length ensued after this speech, but resulted in the adoption of Mr. O'Connell's resolutions.

The following appears in the newspapers of the month of July, 1820 :—

TO THE MAYOR, SHERIFFS, AND CITIZENS OF THE
CITY OF LIMERICK.

“Merrion Square, Dublin, 14th July, 1820.

“GENTLEMEN—I beg leave respectfully to announce my intention to offer myself, at the next vacancy, as a candidate for the office of recorder of your ancient and loyal corporation.

“To maintain the privileges and franchises of that corporation ; to identify the common council with the resident citizens, according to right and ancient usage ; to administer justice without delay, and at the smallest possible expense ; and to exercise all the functions of the office of recorder with the most pure impartiality. Such are the duties of the office to which I aspire.

“To discharge these duties diligently and conscientiously, if I shall be elected to that office, is my fixed and unalterable determination.

“To make an individual canvass, appears to me inconsistent with that feeling of delicacy which ought to belong to the judicial character. I therefore content myself with thus soliciting support. I do not desire that any man should vote for me unless he is in his conscience convinced that I am competent, in professional skill and experience, and above all, that I should act as your recorder with perfect impartiality and disinterestedness.

“I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant.

“DANIEL O'CONNELL.”

About the time of the foregoing address, Mr. O'Connell had occasion, at a public dinner at “D'Arcy's Great Room, Corn-Exchange,” (subsequently the assembly-room of the Catholic Association, and of the popular bodies that succeeded it, down to the opening of Conciliation Hall in 1844, after which latter event the “Great Room” became the chief office of the Repeal Association,) to express his opinion of Curran

The toast it had fallen to his lot to propose was, the memory of one of the greatest of the Irish patriots. His patriotism was undeviating, his eloquence unequalled—uniting at the same time the very soul of wit and humour, with the most touching pathos in language at once classical, sublime, and irresistible.

The love of country was impressed upon his heart, and his superior talents shed a lustre on the profession to which he belonged. He sought no personal advantage or emolument, but, by his conduct, gained the respect even of his enemies ; and when, late in life, he succeeded to that situation to which his talents so justly entitled him, it was but the honourable reward of genius, perseverance, and industry. In this city, in the worst of times, he was seen fearlessly marching through the ranks of blood, with the bayonet to his breast, true to humanity and to his clients, and advocating the cause of those victims he could not save.

Yet now—oh, disgrace to Ireland!—his remains are consigned to an obscure churchyard in England, with not a stone to mark the spot where sleeps John Philpot Curran; and even in the country that he loved, there is nothing, as yet, to record his name!*

“THE MEMORY OF JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.”

MEETING AT KILMAINHAM.

On the 30th December of this year, a meeting took place at the Kilmainham Court-House, at the requisition of the government party, who were desirous of getting up an address to the King, George the Fourth, approving of the recent infamous persecution of his queen.

The following is an account of it, abbreviated from the newspapers:—

“The most strenuous exertions were made by the requisitionists, amongst whom were a great number of office-holders in the law, police, revenue, corporation, &c.

“A large party of police were in attendance The first act of the sheriff indicated his bias. He ordered the police to clear away a large number of most respectable freeholders, *and to admit only such persons as he should point out.* In a short time, however, the pressure of the crowd nullified his orders in a great measure.

“Disappointed in this move, he adopted another and a ludicrous device to admit his chosen few. A chair was procured on which Lord Howth was placed, and raised by four able-bodied policemen to a *back window*, through which his lordship obtained ingress. A similar operation was performed on Lord Frankfort, and several others, to the no small merriment of the spectators.

“The proceedings were opened amid the utmost order on the part of the people. Lord Howth and Lord Frankfort each said a few words, but they were perfectly inaudible to the bulk of the meeting. It was then perceived that the sheriff was making some nomination or selection.

“MR. O’CONNELL wished to know the nature of the proceedings going on about the chair. He inquired whether any motion had been made, or question proposed.

“The HIGH SHERIFF, at the suggestion of some person near him, asked if MR. O’CONNELL was a freeholder of the county of Dublin?

“MR. O’CONNELL (speaking with great emphasis)—‘*I am a freeholder of this county. I have a hereditary property which, probably, may stand a comparison with the person who interrogates me; and I have a profession which gives me an annual income greater than any of the personages who surround the chair are able to wring from the taxes.*’ (Loud applause.)

“The SHERIFF then said, that he was nominating a committee to prepare an address.

“LORD CLONCURRY objected strongly to this irregularity. ‘The meeting should nominate’

“The SHERIFF however, persevered, and was heard to nominate ‘Lord Frankfort.

* It is scarcely necessary now to say that this stain is long since wiped out, and that very handsome and classical monument to Curran stands in Glasnevin cemetery.

"LORD CLONCURRY again objected, and would take the sense of the meeting.

"The SHERIFF refused him the opportunity, and repeated Lord Frankfort's name. The 'noes' were in an immense majority against it. The sheriff, however, declared him selected.

"MR. J. D. MULLEN protested, and being threatened by the sheriff to be put out of the court as no freeholder, declared that he was such, and defied the sheriff to put his threat into execution.

"LORDS HOWTH and FRANKFORT, and some gentlemen with them, now produced a prepared address which, when read, appeared a very poor composition. On the question for its adoption—

"MR. BURNE, K.C., rose to oppose it. He did not see, in the first place, the necessity of making a boast of '*loyalty*.' There had been no instances of disloyalty for a long time.

"MR. COBBE (from Swords)—'Yes, yes!'

"Several voices—'Name one, name one!'

"MR. BURNE also called upon him to name it.

"MR COBBE—'I will, *the opposition to the present address!*'

"After a shout of laughter which this occasioned, had subsided, Mr. Burne resumed, and argued ably against the calling of the meeting, the sheriff's conduct, and his preconcerted arrangements, &c.

"The SHERIFF—'Mr Burne *your party* met as well as *ours*.'

"After this second interruption, the speaker was at last allowed to proceed, and conclude his protest in peace. But when, after concluding, he again rose to announce that he would move an amended and *really* loyal address, the sheriff declared he would not hear him further; and in spite of remonstrances from Mr. O'Connell and others, put the question on the original address. To this there were a hundred noes for every one aye. He then proclaimed the meeting dissolved.

"MR. O'CONNELL declared that the chairman, though he might abdicate the chair, could not dissolve the meeting until they should have completed the business for which they were convened. He moved Lord Cloncurry to the chair

"The SHERIFF said he would oppose his lordship's taking the chair.

LORD CLONCURRY (who was greatly cheered)—'The freeholders of the county Dublin have done me the honour to call me to the chair, and I will certainly obey their commands.' (Great cheering.)

"I most solemnly protest against the illegal and unconstitutional conduct of the sheriff this day . . . it is inconsistent with every notion of law or liberty, and I am happy to obey the call which directs me to give all the resistance in my power to proceedings so arbitrary and unconstitutional!' (Enthusiastic applause.)

"Here the sheriff was understood to threaten to commit Lord Cloncurry, if he persisted in keeping the chair.

"MR. O'CONNELL—'Prepare your prison then! If it be large enough to contain us all, we will all accompany him there. (Loud cheering for several minutes.)

"More freeholders will accompany him there than were found to vote at the last election; nor will they regret the absence of their representatives, though they may have an opportunity of reminding them of that absence.'

"The SHERIFF, then, with great violence of tone and manner, declared that he would call in the military. (Much disapprobation.) He called upon Lord Cloncurry to withdraw. (Loud disapprobation.)

"LORD CLONCURRY—'I will not withdraw! This is the freeholders' house—built with the freeholders' money. At their call I have taken the chair. I am a magistrate of this county; no man shall use illegal violence in my presence, unless he have a force superior to the law. In support of the law I am ready to

perish in this chair, and nothing but force shall tear me from it.' (Enthusiastic cheers.)

"The SHERIFF said that the meeting was an illegal meeting, and that as such he would disperse it.

"MR. O'CONNELL—"The meeting is a perfectly legal meeting. Let every freeholder who values his rights, remain, and if any man be prosecuted for remaining here, let me be that man; for I have, and shall everywhere avow that I have advised, and counselled you to continue the meeting.'

"The sheriff here withdrew.

"The most perfect order and decorum still prevailed, and the court-house exhibited one of the most respectable and crowded meetings we have ever witnessed.

"MR. BURNE addressed the chair, but had not uttered many sentences, when a side-door was thrown open with a violent crash, and an officer and some soldiers rushed in. They commanded the freeholders in the most peremptory manner to withdraw. Some violence was offered to individuals, but certainly not much, as the privates conducted themselves with good temper, and the freeholders quietly dispersed.

"LORD CLONCURRY kept his seat. Mr. Curran placed himself by his side. Two soldiers, bayonet in hand, ascended the bench close to Mr. Curran, who good humouredly, but firmly, put the weapons aside. The officer standing on the table, ordered Lord Cloncurry to withdraw.

"LORD CLONCURRY replied, that he was a magistrate, presiding over a legal meeting of his majesty's subjects; that he would remain until the proceedings were regularly brought to a close, unless removed by actual force.

"The officer said he must use force, and drew or was in the act of drawing his sword, and force *was* applied to Lord Cloncurry before he left the chair.

"The freeholders assembled in immense numbers at the opposite side of the road. A chair was procured for Lord Cloncurry in the passage of a house, and the amended address was read by Mr. Burne, seconded by Mr. O'Connell, and carried with acclamation.

"The following was its substance:—

"That our dutiful attachment and allegiance deserve the greater consideration, inasmuch as those sentiments are not diminished by the multiplied distress and aggravated miseries of your faithful people of Ireland, since the measure of the Union. . . .

"Deeply interested as we are in every event connected with the stability of the throne, we have felt inexpressible satisfaction at the termination of the late proceedings in the House of Lords;* sincerely hoping that proceedings so dangerous and unconstitutional, never will be revived in any shape.'

"Mr. O'Connell moved that a committee be appointed to lay before the Lord Lieutenant, the outrageous and illegal conduct of the sheriff on that day.

"He said that he felt happy in the hope, that all that was honest, and manly, and constitutional in England, would be found in sympathy with the inhabitants of this trampled land. The people of England would now see that the Irish, however attached to liberty, could not attend a meeting convened by the sheriff, without peril to their lives. Let the people of England learn from the events of this day, the fate that is most assuredly in reserve for themselves, if they do not, while yet there is time, while yet the opportunity remains open, come forward, one and all, to resist the machinations of a ministry, the leading personage of which is the very man who extinguished the liberties of his native land, and laid her prostrate before her oppressors, and helpless against any and every illegal violence!!

* Against George the Fourth's most unfortunate queen.

"Mr. Burne was then moved to the chair, and thanks being voted, with the warmest acclamations, to Lord Cloncurry, the meeting quietly separated."

Upon the 2nd of January, 1821, a most numerous meeting, "to consider the best steps to be taken as to the outrage on Saturday at Kilmainham," was held at the Corn Exchange Rooms (then D'Arcy's Tavern), Hamilton Rowan, Esq., in the chair, and John Finlay, Esq., acting as secretary.

MR. O'CONNELL considered it incumbent upon him to address the meeting at the earliest possible moment, having been one of the first of those persons who had been instrumental in convening it.

The gentlemen to whom he alluded, and with whom he had the honour of being associated in recommending this step, did not come to any definite conclusion as to the particular resolutions to be proposed for adoption on this occasion, but had unanimously agreed that they and the general body of the freeholders of the county of Dublin would well deserve the treatment which they had received—would well merit to be branded as the SLAVES they were *supposed* to be, did they remain quiescent under the outrage which was, on Saturday last, committed against their rights and persons. (Much cheering.)

It was a thing unheard of, that at a meeting convened by the high sheriff of a county, to prepare a loyal and dutiful address to his majesty, the freeholders should not have been permitted to give expression to sentiments of loyalty, and freely pronounce their opinion upon the topics with which that address ought to deal. It was monstrous that they should have been driven, at the point of the bayonet, from under the roof of the court-house, where the meeting was legal, into the open air, where, under the existing law, it was illegal to assemble. The very law which made it so, was enacted by the ministry whose counsels this county had been called upon to approve, and constituted a part of the system of the present administration.

This law was enacted in England to restrain the free expression of opinion in that country. It was enacted under cover of the pretext that large meetings were necessarily dangerous, that they were inevitably inflammatory and tumultuous when held in the open air. But no such meetings had been held in the open air in Ireland. He (Mr. O'Connell) had attended and spoken at most of the Irish meetings. They were all held under some roof. They were peaceable, and not a shadow of excuse could be alleged for extending those laws to Ireland.

There was, however, an object in extending them to this country—the object of preserving the consistency of the existing ministry's system in the government of Ireland. (Hear, hear.)

Ireland should be struck at ! Whether England was hit or no, it was a settled thing that Ireland should be struck at. She was too upright, too inviting for a blow, to allow the opportunity to slip. Like the man at a country fair, who, carrying his head erect and stately, suddenly found himself knocked down, and on asking the reason why, was answered, "Oh, your head was in the way, and invited the blow!" (Loud laughter.) So, too, thought the English minister, as he struck the blow, which he felt invited to, at unoffending Ireland ! However, *she is not too fallen to rise again*, she is not too *prostrate* to be deterred, or disenabled from making a reimperative effort for her independence, and the free exercise of the inalienable rights of the people ! (Much cheering.)

The brand has entered your souls, and you deserve to be branded and to be enthralled for ever, if you do not exert your energies to justify yourselves, and vindicate your characters. The voice and the sentiments which went for that Kilmainham have thrilled through every heart in the country. They have spoken, trumpet-tongued, the feelings of independence which beats in every Irish bosom, and I hope they will be re-echoed throughout every part of Ireland ! (Loud applause.) Oh ! my friends, a glorious opportunity has burst upon you ! Avail yourselves of it, and prove to the inhabitants of England, that you do not yield to them in the love of constitutional liberty ! That you will struggle to vindicate with them, and restore again in its pristine brightness and purity, constitutional liberty ! (Loud cheering.)

Whatever redress we may seek for the grievances which we have suffered and so patiently endured, let it be sought for only through the constitutional channel. It is, therefore, that I move, in the spirit of the constitution under which we live, and for which we would die—

"That a committee of fifteen be appointed to consider of the best method of demanding redress for the outrage committed on the freeholders, at Kilmainham, on Saturday last."

This motion, to which Mr. Finlay and some other gentleman spoke, being about to be put, Mr. McDonnell suggested a deputation to the secretary at the Castle, Mr. Grant.

Mr. O'Connell said he had ever had the highest respect for Mr. Grant, but did not approve of the deputation proposed, as, without it, there was a satisfactory test by which to try the sentiments and disposition of the administration of the country.

If the government with which Mr. Grant was connected should, by that day week, suspend the public officer who had committed

the atrocious outrage on the people's rights, against which they had now met to protest, he (Mr. O'Connell) would be ready to admit that the Irish government were disposed to consider the just rights of the people. But in the uncertainty, or, perhaps he should say, the very great doubt he was in upon that subject, he could not by any means consent to allow himself to be sent about from the office of one deputy at the castle, to the office of another under-secretary's under-deputy, and to come away without redress, if even he were accorded any reply at all.

He was of opinion that it would be the more proper method to bring the question before parliament, and to expose the whole proceedings to the public eye of England, that England might see that there existed abundant spirit and manliness in Ireland to co-operate with her in the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

Great as was indeed the outrage, yet he was clearly of opinion, that the sheriff had served the cause, of which it was evident he was no very warm friend. His conduct was a death-blow to many addresses intended to be got up for the same vile purposes, and by the same underhand management. It had awakened the spirit of the land. Whatever remnant of public spirit still lingered in this country would, by the events of that day, acquire renewed and augmented force and energy. He sincerely hoped, that one and all, forgetting past dissensions, and sinking every petty dispute about sect or party, in the general weal, would obey the universal call to exertion which the late unparalleled outrage so imperiously demanded.

He did not think that he was too sanguine in hailing the occurrence at Kilmainham as the harbinger of better days for Ireland. He never would despair—he believed that that liberty for which the patriot long prayed, and which the poet had promised to them, would one day come. Her voice had been lately heard among other nations of the earth. It spoke in Spain—and as it spoke, the nation rejoiced, wealth increased, prosperity was secured, despotism was suddenly struck with blight, and the people became free! (Loud cheering.)

In Naples, too, her voice had been heard. But Naples stands not secure in her freedom, not because there is danger of invasion into her territory by the Austrian despot, but because Naples treated Sicily, as one nation, which might easily be named, uniformly treated another which shall be nameless! (Loud cheering.)

But on no nation, perhaps, were her blessings—the blessings of constitutional liberty—more abundantly showered than on

Portugal—Portugal, whose people an English writer, but a short time ago, had ventured to denominate “human vermin!” Portugal, whose inhabitants Lord Byron, the poet of the age, and the friend of humanity, had in 1818 pronounced to be

“Base Lusian slaves—the lowest of the low!”

That same Portugal is now a great nation among the highest of the high, and her people are the “freest of the free.” Had his friend Mr. M'Donnell been of the patriots of Oporto, he might probably have suggested the propriety of sending an address to the court of the Brazils, at Rio de Janeiro, petitioning for liberty; and, after waiting a year and a-half for an answer, returning with a very plain and unmistakeable refusal. (Laughter.)

With such a prospect before him, why should he despair for his country? He never would subscribe to the belief, that Ireland was reserved for exclusive degradation—but rather espouse the sentiments of the “bard of Erin,” who united the spirit of prophecy to the genius of poetry—

“The nations have fallen, but thou art still young,
Thy sun is but rising, whilst others are set—
And tho' slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,
The full noon of freedom shall beam round thee yet!
Erin, O Erin, tho' long in the shade,
Thy star will shine out when the proudest shall fade!”

At an adjourned meeting, a few days after, held at the same place, Mr. O'Connell spoke again on the same topics, and to the same effect. A very large number of gentlemen, Protestants and others, who did not usually attend public meetings, were present, and a vote of thanks and compliment to Mr. O'Connell was carried with unanimous acclamations.

No redress was obtained, as from the usual current of events at that time, might have been expected to prove the result, and indeed was so expected.

LETTERS OF MR. O'CONNELL

WE now come to some letters of Mr. O'Connell, the first of them being one of the earliest of the stirring annual appeals which, during his career he so frequently made to the Irish people, calling on them to arouse themselves to renewed and increased exertion for their suffering country, to count all by-gone efforts as nothing, while yet there was before them anything which they might do to advance her cause.

“*Nil actum reputare, dumquid superesset agendum.*”

Such, in truth, was one of the maxims of his agitation most frequently enforced, and most perseveringly acted upon by himself.

The differences with Mr. Shiel, which this letter gave rise to, and to which the others refer, did not prove enduring, and their very recollection gave way before long to the most enduring mutual regard and friendship.

“TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

“Can piety the discord heal,
Or stanch the death-feud's enmity
Can Christian love, can patriot zeal,
Can love of blessed charity?”

“Merrion-square, Dublin, 1st January, 1821.

“FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—After another year of unjust degradation and oppression, I again address you. We have lived, another year, the victims of causeless injustice. Our lives wear away, and we still continue aliens in our native land. Every thing changes around us. Our servitude alone is unaltered and permanent.

“The blood runs cold, and the heart withers when we reflect on the wanton prolongation of our sufferings. The iron sinks into our very souls at the helpless and hopeless nature of our lot. To the severest of injuries is added the most cruel of insults, and we are deprived of the miserable consolation of thinking that our enemies deem themselves justified by any necessity or any excuse for continuing our degradation.

“No, my fellow-countrymen, no, there is no excuse for the injustice that is done us. There is no palliation for the iniquitous system under which we suffer. It contradicts the first right of men and Christians—the right of worshipping our God according to the dictates of our conscience. Nay, this odious system goes farther; it converts the exercise of that right into a crime, and it inflicts punishment for that which is our first and most sacred duty—to worship our Creator in the sincerity of conscience.

“For this crime, and for this crime alone, we are punished and degraded—converted into an inferior class in our native land, and doomed to perpetual exclusion. Our enemies cannot accuse us of any other offence—other crime we have committed none. Even the foolish charge of intemperance—a charge which was only a symptom of that contempt in which our enemies hold us—even the absurd accusation of intemperance is now abandoned, and our degradation continues without necessity, without excuse, without pretence, without palliation.

“Some honest men might have been heretofore deluded into an hostility towards us by their being made to believe that there was something in the tenets of our religion inconsistent with civil, or at least with religious liberty. But this delusion can

no longer continue. To prove that the Catholic religion is consistent with civil liberty, I appeal to Catholic Spain, where a Catholic soldiery joined a Catholic people to restore representative government; and succeeded in a glorious revolution, unstained on their part by a tear or a drop of blood. To prove that the Catholic religion is consistent with civil liberty, I appeal to Catholic Portugal, where again a Catholic soldiery joined a Catholic people, to enforce the justice of universal suffrage and representative government; and where, also, a bloodless and tearless revolution has been effectuated, of which all that we know is good, is excellent. I might appeal likewise to Catholic Naples, but that the Ireland of her connexion reminds me of my own trampled and heart-broken land, and makes me abandon an example honourable to my religion, because it excites feelings rendered too painfully familiar by the miseries of my native country.

“I need not recur to more ancient instances. I need not cite the first republics of modern Europe. The Catholic republics of Venice, of Genoa, of Lucca. I need not refer to the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, which were all democratic, while the Protestant Cantons were all aristocratic. Nor need I recal to mind the present struggle for liberty and national independence through the wide-spread regions of South America. But when I contemplate ancient and modern days, I can proudly, but cordially and affectionately enter into a rivalry with Protestant lovers of freedom: and contend, as I do contend, that Catholics deserve the palm in the cheering struggles which nations have made, and which, thank God, the nations of the earth are now making for civil liberty.

“With respect to religious liberty, the case of the Catholics is, if possible, still stronger. It was a Catholic state that first proclaimed and established liberty of conscience for all persuasions—the Catholic state of Maryland. It was a Catholic parliament that alone has granted full, free, unrestricted, and equalized emancipation to their Protestant fellow-countrymen—the Catholic diet of Hungary. It was a Catholic king that afforded the last instance of a similiar emancipation—the Catholic King of Bavaria. These instances of Catholic liberality cannot be made too familiar to the minds of honest Protestants, whose ambition it ought to be to give reciprocal proofs of liberality and Christian charity. I would also remind such Protestants that the odious and execrable inquisition so long cherished by despotic monarchs, has been crumbled into dust by the Catholic people of Spain, the moment they had the power to crush it. I would remind them

that in France, a Catholic monarch, whose sincerity in the Catholic faith cannot be doubted, and who punctually hears mass every day, has for one of his ministers of state a Protestant gentleman, although that Protestant, if he were in England, could not fill the office of parish constable, without swearing that the Mass was impious, and he who heard it an idolater. Finally, let every Protestant recollect, that even in Rome itself, a Protestant Church has been erected, and that the Protestant worship is performed in Rome, as it were under the eye, and certainly by the permission of his Holiness the Pope himself.

“I will not, and I need not pursue this subject farther. Every unprejudiced man who will consider the subject dispassionately, must with me arrive at the conclusion, that the tenets of the Catholic religion are perfectly consistent with complete freedom of conscience, and that they assort kindly and well with the best forms of civil liberty.

“I do not dwell upon these topics because of the melancholy pleasure I feel in contrasting our merits with our sufferings. I do not dwell upon them because of the honest pride I experience at the superiority in religious liberality and love of rational liberty, which belongs to the religion of your fathers and mine. I advert to them merely to show, that as Catholic degradation in Ireland is without a cause, so it also is without a remedy. Could that degradation be attributed to intemperance, we might hope for a mitigation of it by changing our manner, and becoming as gentle as sucking doves. Could that degradation be justified by offence or crime on our part—then, indeed, we might hope for relief by repentance, by atonement, by amendment. Had not ancient and modern instances of the enthusiastic devotion of liberty to Catholics proved our fitness for freedom, we might still expect to win our way by declaring our attachment to the genuine principles of the constitution. Had not Catholics given not only the best and brightest, but almost all the examples of religious liberality hitherto known, we might flatter ourselves to succeed by solemn protestations, that the real doctrine of our Apostolic Church disclaims all force or compulsion, and seeks for votaries, as the apostles did, by mere persuasion. But alas! every hope, every expectation of this kind is now useless. Our degradation is, I repeat it, without a remedy, because it is without a rational cause, or any reasonable pretence.

“From our exertions we can expect no relief; can we hope for any redress from parliament? In my conscience I think not whilst the parliament remains in its present most anomalous

state. Indeed, I have arrived at the most perfect conviction, that it is the extreme of folly and absurdity, to imagine that an unreformed parliament *would* or *could* consent to give us relief.

“Upon principle, the present parliament cannot give us relief—for two reasons, first, because by emancipating the Catholics of Ireland, they would destroy the system by which the present ministry govern Ireland—the system of dissension and division, the weakening of all by preventing any constitutional combination or rational cohesion, for the purposes of opposing misrule. Secondly, because to grant us emancipation, would be to extend the sphere of civil liberty, and the alchemists who expected to extract the most precious metals from the dross of the lowest minerals, were sapient beings when compared with the drivellers who could believe that they were to receive the fine gold of liberty from the dregs of the existing administration.

“Let us, however, quit all theoretic views, and come to a closer examination of our prospects. If we do so, the first object that presents itself to us, is the causeless rejection, so often repeated, of our petitions—all the arguments—all the talent was with us—a few often refuted assertions—a few stale calumnies, exploded everywhere else, and a majority of each house was against us.

“This is the first fact to prove that it is hopeless to continue our petitions to an unreformed parliament. The next is, that such rejections took place, although our advocates in the House of Commons did latterly tender the ministers the veto, as a valuable consideration for a relief bill. Now, that tender was made not only without our consent, but amidst our recorded and repeated disapprobation—and such tender cannot, I will add, shall not, be renewed. Neither Mr. Plunket, nor Mr. anything else, shall again offer a veto without a prompt and unequivocal disavowal—a disavowal which will be followed by a Catholic petition against receiving emancipation upon any such terms. On this point, I will not, I cannot, enter into any compromise. Being a Catholic in the most perfect sincerity of belief, I do, in my conscience, and in the presence of my God, believe that any species of vetoistical interference would be equally injurious to my religion, as destructive of civil liberty in Ireland. With this conviction on my mind, all my most strenuous exertions shall be used to disavow, to complain of, I must say, to denounce every person who may seek to obtain for us civil privileges, by a sacrifice of the safety of our religion. But, my fellow-countrymen, if the parliament rejected our petitions, even whilst

our advocates offered to extend ministerial influence and courtly patronage over another Church, what prospect or possibility is there that a parliament, composed of the same unconstitutional materials, will grant us redress, when we disdain and utterly reject that influence and that patronage? Certainly none.

“The third fact to prove that an unreformed parliament will not grant us relief, is to be found in the history of the last sessions. A period had arrived most auspicious to our interests. The ministers had resolved to commit themselves with the British people, by the prosecution of her majesty the queen. They could not but be conscious of the perfect injustice of that proceeding—they could not but know the odium which must be excited among such a people as the English, at the palpable iniquity of any men, combining the inconsistent characters of prosecutors and judges. It required but little intellect to perceive how revolting to common sense, to common reason, to common honesty, such a combination must be. A man has only to place himself in the situation of being prosecuted, with a certainty that his prosecutors shall also be his judges. Can anything be more frightful? The ministers knew it well—then also felt what little reliance was to be placed on the discarded servants, the prostitutes, and all the vulgar rabble of Italian wittnesses, which the Milan inquisition had raked together. The ministers knew their danger, and yet, with a desperate tenacity of place, persevered.

“At such a moment as this, the Catholics resolved to renew their petition. It was a golden, although not a glorious opportunity. I acknowledge that their conduct was not generous, but it was very natural. They did, accordingly, prepare petitions, and Lord Donoughmore, as a matter of course—and Mr. Plunket, by a strange combination of accidents were requested to present those petitions.

“It is true these petitions were not rejected, but they were worse—they were not received. The House of Lords was not in a temper to hear us. That noble assembly which could listen for weeks with a gloating satisfaction to the obscene details of a Delpont or a Majocchi, had not one leisure hour to throw away on the claims and rights of five millions of Catholics. Lord Donoughmore, and his sincerity to the Catholics cannot be doubted, therefore declined presenting our petition to the Lords. Thus, in that house, has the best opportunity I have ever known of pressing emancipation on the ministry, been thrown away and lost for ever.

“The House of Commons was ready enough to adjourn from week to week at the convenience of the ministry ; but they could not, it seems, spare any one of their idle days to hear the prayers of an injured people. Mr. Plunket, accordingly, refused to present our petition at that period to the House of Commons, and thus again was lost the most favourable opportunity for our claims which has appeared in modern times.

“Thus have the last sessions passed away, and it only remains for us to consider what course is now to be taken. I have heard it said, that our last petition not having been presented still remains, and should be brought before parliament in the next sessions ; that I totally deny. Of the numerous persons who signed that petition, some must be dead. Is it the petition of the dead men ? Many have left Ireland—is it the petition of the absent and uninterested ? Very many have changed their minds on the subject, and would not now concur in that petition. I am one of the number. Is it now my petition or the petition of those who think with me ? We totally disclaim it. Besides, our resolution, when that petition was prepared, was, that it should be *forthwith*, or *immediately* presented, I forget which was the word. It was prepared for a particular occasion ; that occasion has gone by, and, with the petition of last sessions, has passed for ever.

“At the time we prepared that petition, there were six of the cabinet ministers in our favour against seven. The resignation of Mr. Canning has reduced the number of our side to five, and if his substitute, as is likely, be from the No popery faction, then the numbers of the cabinet will be eight to five against giving us any relief upon any terms.

“The advice which I do, therefore, submit to you, my countrymen, with respectful deference, is this, to petition an unreformed parliament no more for those rights which it has refused so often and so causelessly, and which it will not, it cannot, it, I may say, dare not grant. The time is arrived when we should be weary of being amongst those

‘Who yearly kneel before their masters doors,
And hawk their wrongs as beggars do their sores.’

It is useless, it is worse than useless, to petition a parliament of *virtual* representatives for liberty ; we should be again rejected and mocked by the trickery of a debate—and insulted by an unreasoning majority.

“But shall I be asked, if I advise you to lie down beneath your grievances in sullen silence and despair. No, my countrymen—

no, we will not, we ought not despair. There is a restless spirit of liberty abroad, which, if it will submit to just, necessary, and temperate regulation, must lead to good. Let us not disturb its course, or retard its progress.

“If we continue our Catholic petitions, we shall continue the dissensions and divisions of our country—we shall perpetuate those distractions which alone have weakened Ireland and laid her prostrate. By continuing our separate and exclusive labours, we do the work of our worst enemies, and keep up a perpetual line of distinction—a constant wall of separation between sects and parties in Ireland. Let us rather endeavour to amalgamate the Catholic, the Protestant, the Presbyterian, the Dissenter, the Methodist, the Quaker, into the IRISHMAN—and, forgetting our own individual wrongs, let us call upon Irishmen of every description to combine in a noble struggle for the natural and inherent rights of our now wretched country.

“Let that struggle be confined within the most peaceable and constitutional limits. Let it have for its object the restoration of the constitution—and for its sole guide, the principles of the constitution; let us, in a word, join heart and hand in the pursuit of constitutional reform.

“Believe me, my countrymen, they calumniate the reformers, who tell you that the reformers are enemies of the monarch or of the throne. The direct contrary is the fact. The reformers are the best guards of the monarchy. They know that an hereditary monarchy gives a principle of fixity to executive power, which affords the best and most secure protection against those convulsions which endanger life, and confound property. The reformers are, therefore, on principle, the firm supporters of the throne, and one of their greatest and dearest objects is to rescue the Crown from the thralldom in which it is now held by that borough-mongering faction, which, by domineering over both houses of parliament, holds the ministry in vassalage and the king in chains.

“Let our future purpose be the abolition of that faction which has plunged these countries in war, in debt, in distress, and involved Ireland in all the miseries of the Union. Let us not enter into any quarrels as to the particular mode of reform; but let us be always governed by that principle of the constitution which justifies taxation upon the grounds of consent; every man being supposed to consent to a tax by his representative. So that without a solecism in constitutional law, no man should be taxed who is not represented. This principle is plain and sim-

ple ; it accords with justice and common sense, and will never be forgotten by men who deserve to be free.

“Such my fellow-countrymen, is the advice of one of yourselves for the benefit of us all. It may be mistaken—it certainly is honest and disinterested—and flows from a heart warm with the love of its country and its kind, and devoted to the rights and liberties of Ireland—old Ireland.

“ I have the honour to be, Fellow-Countrymen,

“ Your faithful Servant and Fellow-Sufferer,

“ DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

Upon this letter, Mr. Shiel published, a few days after, the following

“ ANSWER TO MR. O’CONNELL’S ADDRESS,

“ BY MR. SHEIL.

“ TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

“Mr. O’Connell has published his accustomed annual invocation at the commencement of the New Year. To demonstrate the fallacy of his reasoning, and to point out the pernicious tendency of his advice, is my object in addressing you. The concern of every Roman Catholic in our national cause supersedes the sensitiveness with which, upon ordinary occasions, an individual ought to shrink from the public contact. To Mr. O’Connell’s address is annexed the authority of his name. I trust that I shall be able to supply any absence of comparative personal importance upon my part by the weight of argument and of fact ; and from the high sense which I entertain of Mr. O’Connell’s authority, I cannot refrain from making use of it against himself—

‘Nil æquali homini fuit illi.’

I shall state to you the substance of his letter, as well as it can be reduced to coherence and shape. This annual eruption, in which he has flung out such a flaming fragment of declamation, is accompanied with a considerable obscuration, arising from the shower of volatile opinion with which it is attended, nor is it easy to analyse the lava which is compounded out of such a variety of heterogeneous materials.

“ Upon his preliminary observations on our grievances, no comment is necessary ; suffice it to say, that they are written with feeling and force. Did he confine himself to such exertations

he would be as wise as he is impassioned. I have to do with the practical part of his letter. He advises, for the adoption of parliamentary reform, the abandonment of our petition for relief—he dwells upon Mr. Canning's resignation—insists that Mr. Plunket shall make no tender of what, by a piece of professional dexterity, he calls the veto—insinuates that the petition already entrusted to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Plunket ought not to be presented, as some of the petitioners are dead, and because he, forsooth, has changed his mind; and concludes with the singular project of amalgamating (as he terms it) a Quaker into an Irishman. Such are the fashions of January, 1821. Well, then, does Mr. O'Connell really think that you are to be so blinded with all the vapour which he has raised, as to imagine that there exists any connexion whatever between Roman Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform? Whatever may be the sentiment of a Roman Catholic in his individual capacity, upon that topic, what has his creed to do with it? If we cannot obtain relief for ourselves, what shall we procure for others? If the Roman Catholic question cannot pass through the prejudices, will reform overcome the interests of the House of Commons? Mr. O'Connell's reasoning goes to show the weakness of the Catholics—why then ally their imbecility to the cause of reform? What will that cause gain by Mr. O'Connell's casting a peacock's feather into the scale? Where, too, is the certainty of a reformed parliament passing emancipation? The penal code was enacted by a parliament which set at defiance the authority of the crown. It is notorious that many of the opponents of reform are the advocates of our cause, and it is strange, that even while Mr. O'Connell expatiates upon its necessity, he sets such a high value upon the support of Mr. Canning, who is a zealous enemy to that measure. He even admits that there was lately a mere majority of one against us in the Cabinet, and yet he bids us despair unless his new nostrum be employed. How different was his language, when scarcely one minister was favourable to our views, and when the late king's opposition operated as an insurmountable barrier for a time! How did Mr. O'Connell speak, when our hopes hung like wet osiers, and it was needful to employ a strong and commanding spirit to lift them from the stagnant despondency over which they drooped? If we identify our question with reform, will not the opponents of the latter become our foes? Why accumulate new obstacles in our way? If our question, simplified as it is by plain right and obvious expediency, cannot pass through the needle's eye, will Mr. O'Connell, mounted upon a camel,

loaded with the union and parliamentary reform, spur the slow and unwieldy animal through the narrow orifice? The Roman Catholics of Ireland do not feel the least inclination to connect themselves with the reformers. The latter are well aware that we could render them no benefit, and must disserve ourselves. Besides, has it ever occurred to Mr. O'Connell that Catholic Emancipation is to pass the House of Lords as well as the Commons? And what has the purification of one branch of the legislature to do with the success of the Catholic question in another. Perhaps, however, both houses of parliament may fall within the comprehensiveness of his projects, and his next address is to blow the mitres of thirty bishops into the paradise of fools. Enough, however, upon this new speculation, upon which it was scarcely worth my while to insist at so much length.

“ Let us now examine Mr. O'Connell's assertion, that there is no likelihood—nay, that there is no possibility of success. It must have been since the month of July last that he made this discovery; nor has he condescended to state by what process he has arrived at this grand political result. The only fact on which he relies is, the resignation of Mr. Canning. He builds upon this single circumstance his ill-constructed fabric of despair. Even if we did lose a vote in the cabinet, as our question is not made a cabinet measure, the loss would not be of much importance. But how has Mr. O'Connell ascertained that the vacancy is to be filled by an opponent of our claims? He conjectures it indeed, and it is upon his guess-work that the measures of a nation are to be founded? Where are the evidences of hopelessness? Are they to be found in the opening of the army? If this most valuable concession had been wrenched from the ministry—if it had been ushered in with the sound of trumpets, it would be regarded as a great victory—and so it was to those brave men whose laurels had, till then, been blighted by their creed. This was the measure which removed the Whigs from office; and there was, perhaps, a time when it would have been wise to postpone our petition, nor press upon our earnest friends so perplexing a subject. Did Mr. O'Connell, at that time, advise the Roman Catholics to forbear. No! he reserves this novel doctrine for the present period, and spares this ministry the embarrassment of a question which distracts them, and is the only topic on which they differ. But how does Mr. O'Connell act at this juncture? The very moment that he bids you be silent, he is himself most loud. Does he intend to reserve all expatiation upon our grievances to his own oracular

self, and are you to forbear petitioning, that he may continue to address? Upon the remainder of Mr. O'Connell's letter, I need not occupy you long. From the subject of reform he suddenly wheels round to Mr. Plunket; men are not always conscious of their own motives, nor does the mind see itself. The patriotism of Mr. O'Connell may be as pure as amber, but even in amber we may find a straw; Mr. O'Connell could not allow any personal feeling to influence him, where his country is at stake; yet in speaking of Mr. Plunket, he says, 'neither Mr. Plunket, nor Mr. Anything else, shall.' The phrase is a transparent one, and the rushlight, with its feeble and fretful fire is seen behind. It is as clear as glass; it covers, but it does not hide. Mr. O'Connell does not deal very candidly when he says that Mr. Plunket shall not offer the veto. Mr. Plunket has already distinctly stated, that as the Catholics disapprove of the veto, it should be abandoned; as to the particular form in which the question may be brought forward, let me remind Mr. O'Connell, that upon his proposing, at a very numerous meeting, a resolution, expressive of the unwillingness of the Roman Catholic body to accede to any ecclesiastical arrangements, that resolution was carried by a majority of only six, and when it was communicated to Mr. Plunket, he answered, that he should act as he deemed it meet; let him remember that several of the parishes of Dublin confided their petitions to Mr. Plunket, without the annexation of any resolution whatsoever to control him in the exercise of his discretion. Upon that occasion, when Mr. O'Connell revived the unhappy question of the veto, I read several passages from his address of January, 1819, in which, after dwelling upon the value of a silk gown, he advises that the subject of the veto should be buried in utter silence, says that it is not in the power of the Roman Catholics to prevent its real operation, and intimates that it is already in force.

"One would have hoped that after these opinions, deliberately set down in all the permanence of ink, Mr. O'Connell would hardly have ventured upon a resuscitation of the topic. But inconsistency has no terror for him. In his present address, indeed, he states that he firmly believes in the Roman Catholic religion—I presume he also believed in it in 1819—I hope, too, he does not enjoy a monopoly of faith; nor will the public be inclined to think that such a man as Lord Fingal affords less practical evidence of his creed than any of its more clamorous professors.

"Mr. O'Connell (and that I take to be the gist of his address) intimates that the petition, which has been entrusted to Lord

Donoughmore and Mr. Plunket, ought not to be presented by them. He says, 'of the numerous persons who signed that petition some must be dead—is it the petition of the dead men? Really when we read arguments of this sort, knowing the ability of the advocate, we must think lamentably of the cause. It is the drowning grasp of a sophist in the agonies of confutation. Even in an ordinary action, the death of one of several parties shall not abate a suit; and shall the imperial cause of Ireland perish in the death of John Stiles? He also says that some of the petitioners are abroad, and therefore have no interest. What has become of Mr. O'Connell's patriotism? He gives in this opinion a bad sample of the Irishman into which he wishes to transmute every sect. Does he mean to say that an absence from this country would wash all its sufferings from his memory? It is said that an orator of antiquity had a flute-player always beside him to sound the key by which his voice was to be pitched. It were well if Mr. O'Connell would, before he pens his next address, renovate his languid love of country, with the 'Exile of Erin.' Mr. O'Connell also says that he has changed his mind. If, in the midst of a debate upon a petition of thousands, a single individual was so rash before the House of Commons, and exclaim, 'I have changed my mind—I disclaim the petition though I have signed it;' should this person, by throwing a pebble into the stream, stop the whole current of a great proceeding. Let Mr. O'Connell remember that all these arguments of his are as applicable to every former petition as to the present. Our petitions were generally submitted to Mr. Grattan, seven or eight months before they were presented. Did Mr. O'Connell ever allege that some of the petitioners were dead, or absent, or had changed their minds? Mr. O'Connell insists that the resolution entrusting our petitions to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, contained a clause that they would be presented 'forthwith, or immediately, he forgets which.' A person who builds an argument upon a word, and does not remember it, shows what sort of validity he sets upon it. Does Mr. O'Connell really mean to non-suit the Catholics of Ireland; and is it with a 'forthwith' that he is to upset the cause of his country? But neither Mr. O'Connell, nor 'Mr. Anything else,' to borrow his own phraseology, shall dictate to the Catholic body; and I must inform him that he wants the power to do ill. The petition was given to Lord Donoughmore and to Mr. Plunket, that it might be presented as soon as possible, and it was not possible to present it during the last session, when the queen's

case blocked up all the avenues of the State. To this Mr. O'Connell, however, pays no attention, nor does he affect to know that the question at that time before the legislature was of so absorbing a character as to render every other topic, for the moment, of comparative insignificance. It is not in the shocks of an earthquake that a house is to be repaired. But to oppose arguments of this sort is to combat with shadows. Neither Lord Donoughmore, our faithful advocate, nor Mr. Plunket, the legitimate successor of Mr. Grattan, will be swayed by such futilities. The latter gentleman knows the value of all the points of law made by Mr. O'Connell. He will not be much disturbed by any splenetic pleading. He is placed upon an eminence which Mr. O'Connell's addresses and harangues cannot reach.

'The murmuring surge,
That on the unnumbered idle pebbles chafes,
Cannot be heard so high.'

"Mr. Plunket well knows that Mr. O'Connell does not speak the sentiments of the Roman Catholic body; once, indeed, by following he appeared to guide. By a flexible accordance between his sense of public duty, with his love of popular praise, he served for some time to indicate the varieties of popular excitation. I should be loth to compare him to a sort of political vane by which all the veerings of the breeze might be determined, but it were as idle to imagine that the currents of air on which the balloon is borne, are regulated by the painted machine that floats upon them, as to suppose that a person swelled out with the very inflammable patriotism of Mr. O'Connell, and raised by the very levity of his opinions, should create the vicissitudes of passion on which he ascends. That gentleman was certainly elevated in a very gaudy vehicle, embellished with every diversity of hue. He had risen with the shout of the multitude, and after throwing out all his ballast, and waving his green flag he very skilfully adapted his course in this aerial voyage to all the mutations of impulse, which agitated the stormy medium through which he passed, until at last, in attempting to rise into a still more lofty region, he has allowed the thin and combustible materials of his buoyancy to take fire, and comes tumbling in a volume of fiery vapour, composed of the Veto, the Union, and Parliamentary Reform.

"RICHARD SHIEL."

“TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

“ ‘But alas for his country—her pride is gone by,
And that spirit is broken which never would bend;
O'er the ruin her children in secret must sigh,
For 'tis treason to love her, and death to defend.

“ Merrion-square, 12th January, 1821.

“ FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—I think it may be useful that I should offer you a few remarks upon a rhapsody which Mr. Shiel has published, under the title of a reply to my late address.

“ I will not do him the injustice to suppose, that he imagines he has given any answer to my arguments. He knows he has not; neither is it important to inquire under what ‘mutation of impulse’ he wrote. To ascertain whether he found himself ‘filled with fury—rapt—inspired,’ or acted on some colder and more considerate calculation, would be quite an uninteresting discovery.

“ But I am really at a loss to know how I have provoked the tragic wrath and noble ire of this iambic rhapsodist. It seems to me, that anything so unprovoked, never appeared in the annals of causeless incivility. He set out in a passion, and preserves the consistency of his rage to the end. And yet, after all, I would venture to wager that like the rabid animal in the fable, Mr. Shiel is not half so mad as he pretends to be.

“ There was lately in this country—and I fancy Mr. Shiel knew him—a gentleman who was so very angry an Atheist, that it was not safe for a believer to be in his company. His friends were obliged to preface thus:—‘Mr. ——, I do not mean you any personal offence—but I really believe in the existence of a Deity.’ So I find it is necessary to say to Mr. Shiel—‘Sir, I do not mean you any insult—indeed I do not—but yet I am fervently, ay, and disinterestedly attached to my religion, to my country, and to liberty.’

“ This, however, my countrymen, is the crime for which he has bestowed on me a great variety of hard names. He begins by calling me ‘a flaming fragment,’ next I am ‘lava,’ and thirdly, ‘heterogeneous materials.’

“ Again he denominates me ‘a straw in amber,’ then ‘a rush-light with fretful fire,’ then, how terrific! ‘a sophist drowning in confutation,’ and lastly, and which is quite sublime, ‘a volume of fiery vapour.’

“ From all these plain premises, Mr. Shiel would have you draw the following inevitable conclusion, that the Catholics should con-

tinue, year after year, and century after century (for he puts no limit to it), to petition a parliament which knows how to refuse though it has no reason to give for that refusal.

“But this is trifling—Mr. Shiel is perfectly aware that the great question which the Catholics of Ireland must decide is this, whether they ought to continue to petition an unreformed parliament after repeated and causeless rejections, or join at once the increasing friends of liberty who desire to restore the constitution by reforming that parliament. That is the question.

“Now it is plain, that no rational man conceives that a decision on so momentous a question as this, involving as well the rights as the interests of millions, could be aided either by vituperation, however rancorous, or by the tawdry and tinsel decorations of melo-dramatic oratory; such oratory is fit for nothing else but to gratify that species of vanity which might in a school-boy be allowed to exclaim, ‘see whata very clever little gentleman I am! Wha wants me!’

“The public can gain nothing from the mere admiration of Mr. Shiel's talents, if talents they be; neither would my arguments be weakened of their force, even were Mr. Shiel to prove beyond a doubt that I am one of those odious, but alas, too common creatures, who use the name of patriotism only to serve private purposes, and pretend to take an interest in religion merely to forward their views, on the speculation of place, or the sordid emolument of pension. Such persons certainly deserve execration; I only say they may reason well, notwithstanding.

“The question between us is not to be decided by character, and I therefore, and for many other reasons, commit mine into the hands of you, my countrymen. But I feel myself bound to notice two topics which Mr. Shiel has put forward in his letter, because if I was to leave them unrefuted, their effect might be to divert your attention from the force of my reasoning to motives of mere personal consideration.

“The first of these topics is an empty boast—the second is an unfounded insinuation.

“The boast is, that he (Mr. Shiel) convicted me of inconsistency on the subject of the veto, by showing, that in January, 1819, I was favourable to a veto, for which, he says, ‘he cited several passages from my address of that month.’

“Now mark me, my countrymen, I pray you—in that very address I commenced the discussion of the veto with this passage:—‘*With respect to the veto, my sentiments are unchanged and unalterable—my opposition to the veto is founded on principles*

which I can never yield. AS AN IRISHMAN, I DETEST IT—AS A CATHOLIC, I DEPRECATE IT.’

“Such were my words ; Mr. Shiel, of course, omitted this passage in his garbled extract from the address. He well knows there is high authority for saying that it requires but little intellect to vary the best meaning, merely by omitting part of the subject matter. Even a fool can do it ; I do not accuse Mr. Shiel of being a fool—very far indeed from it. I only point out how admirable is the candour of a rhapsodist. Pray admire that candour !

“With this single observation I take leave of Mr. Shiel’s boast. If it be not an empty boast, I consent to be called a balloon, and a vane, and a fiery vapour for the rest of my life.

“Mr. Shiel’s *insinuation* deserves a more ample discussion. It is this—he distinctly insinuates that I am actuated by motives of *private* hostility or personal resentment to Mr. Plunket, or, in the words of the rhapsodist, ‘that the rushlight with feeble and fretful fire is seen behind.’

“I do, my fellow-countrymen, most solemnly assure you, that there is not the slightest foundation whatsoever for this insinuation ; that the direct contrary is the fact ; in plain truth, it is not my disposition to entertain resentment even against those who injure me ; and nothing can be more repugnant to my habits, than to feel ill-will without cause. Now, in point of fact, Mr. Plunket never did me any unkindness whatsoever, or showed me any incivility or inattention ; on the contrary, he has been, in all my intercourse with him, uniformly courteous, attentive, and even kind. I am deeply sensible of that attention and kindness in all the cases in which I have been concerned with him as counsel ; and no man living is more ready to give Mr. Plunket credit for the virtues which adorn his private life.

“As a professional man, also, I am perfectly sensible of his merits. I have known the powers of the first advocates of modern times, Erskine and Curran, Romilly and Ball, and I have no kind of hesitation in saying, that Mr. Plunket is more *useful* than any one of them ; he combines a strength of mind and clearness of intellect, with a perpetual and unceasing readiness, in a degree which probably very few men, perhaps no man, ever before possessed. Others may exceed him in the higher orders of eloquence ; but in *practical utility* as an advocate, there is no living man, at either bar in England or Ireland to compare with him.

“Such are my sentiments of Mr. Plunket. I admire his

amiable and exemplary deportment in private life—and I cheerfully acknowledge his professional superiority and excellence.

“It is true that I am decidedly hostile to his political opinions on general as well as on local subjects. But is it fair to stigmatize, as the rhapsodist has done, this open and constitutional opposition with the odium of private malignity? My opposition to Mr. Plunket is founded on public principle, and is limited by that principle, and is accompanied by sincere regret.

“My opposition is not the less decided on *that* account; I own I cannot relish the public man who advocated *the dispersion* at Manchester; and the killing of the men, women, and children there. I look upon that *dispersion*—I speak gently—as the most portentous event of modern times. If there shall be a military despotism established in England, that *dispersion* will be considered as the first step to its establishment. If we are fated to fall into the horrors of revolution, *that dispersion* will be considered as the accelerator of its progress. I therefore, as a public man, cannot relish its advocate, neither can I forgive the inclusive advocacy of the six bills of the last sessions of the late reign. These are only some of my objections to Mr. Plunket as a public man.

“If it be said that, as a Catholic, I have no right to regulate my conduct by those considerations, I will not condescend to reply to the slavish observation.

“Perhaps some Catholics may be inclined to overlook such topics as do not belong to our own cause. But no sincere Catholic will avoid considering Mr. Plunket's opinions respecting our particular question. If Mr. Plunket maintains opinions on the subject of the veto, inconsistent with the purity and safety of that religion, he ought not to be entrusted with any petition from the Catholics. That is a proposition which I hope Mr. Shiel will not deny.

“By the word veto I mean all such measures as would give the crown, or the ministers of the crown, a control over appointments in the Catholic Church in Ireland. Those measures have had different names. Sometimes they have been called ‘the royal negative,’ sometimes ‘conditions,’ sometimes ‘securities.’ But the object of them all was in one mode or the other to control the nomination to Catholic Sees in Ireland.

“Allow me here to observe, that the Catholic prelates have, in public resolutions, repeatedly condemned all such measures. These resolutions declared, that any such measure ‘*must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert the Catholic religion in Ireland.*’

“ Yet, Mr. Plunket is a decided advocate for such measures ; so decided indeed, that he will not consent to emancipation without them. I admit that he has consented to abandon the word veto, and probably may give up the direct royal negative, though I am by no means sure that he will. But it is quite certain that he rigidly adheres to ‘ condition’ and ‘ securities’ as indispensable accompaniments of our relief. To the veto, under these disguises, he is devotedly attached.

“ I prove the truth of this assertion thus : On the 14th of June last, Mr. Plunket met a delegation of the Catholic Board sent to make inquiries of him on this very point. He gave in a written reply, in which he insisted on ‘ terms,’ ‘ conditions,’ and ‘ securities,’ as necessarily connected with emancipation.

“ Mr. Plunket was, notwithstanding, by the accidents alluded to in my last publication, entrusted with the late petition. All I could do was to have that petition accompanied by resolutions, declaratory of the destructive tendency to our religion, of any vetoistical measure, and also expressive of our hostility to any such measure.

“ What was Mr. Plunket’s reply ? His reply is in print, and cannot be mistaken ; and it avowed with all the emphasis of italics, ‘ *that his opinions on that subject were VERY DIFFERENT from those we communicated to him ;*’ and further, ‘ *that the adoption of such conditions was not only UNOBJECTIONABLE, but JUST and NECESSARY.*

“ Here is my decisive objection to Mr Plunket. Here is that which will make me ever disavow him as my parliamentary advocate. I cannot defer to him on a matter of importance to my religion ; above all, I cannot concur, and I will never again concur in giving him an opportunity, as the selected organ of the Catholics, to enforce measures which the prelates and people of Ireland have so repeatedly condemned as in their nature *essentially injurious, and possibly subversive of our religion.*

“ This it is which makes me extremely rejoice that the petition for last sessions is defunct. I rejoice that it has ceased to exist, and I confidently hope it never will be revived.

“ I only smile at Mr. Shiel’s special pleading—he considers a petition to be in its nature irrevocable, and that he who once signs it is bound for ever ; and this assertion of his he runs through all the mazes of metaphor, as if to escape common sense.

“ I am so certain that Mr. Plunket will not adopt Mr. Shiel’s fancies, and convert me into a petitioner against my consent,

and make himself my advocate without my leave, that I shall not add another word on this topic.

“ I have neither leisure nor inclination to follow Mr. Shiel through any more of the affectations, the *peacock's feathers*, and the *volcanos*, which glitter in laboured and puny conceits. I am now certain that to keep us *petitioning*, is the game of the ministry. It was said long since in the French army, that if a gentleman conducted himself well as a cadet, he would remain a cadet for life. The reason was obvious ; he thus gave useful services at the cheapest possible rate ; and thus it will be with us. We have only to behave ourselves well as petitioners ; to be very temperate, and mild, and forbearing ; to avoid all agitation, and to be most respectful and submissive, and we shall be allowed the mighty privilege of continuing petitioners and cadets during our existence.

“ I may now dismiss Mr. Shiel in perfect cheerfulness. I may dismiss him to the association of his fellow-labourers in the *Correspondent* and *Dublin Journal*. For my part, I think it better policy, as I am sure it is better principle, to join the British reformers, and to convince them that the Irish Catholics are not as they have been often represented by Mr. Shiel's new allies—a faction brawling for individual advantages—but men who anxiously and earnestly desire to advance general liberty, and who understand in what constitutional and rational liberty should consist.

“ It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that he has not disturbed any one of the propositions which I sought to establish. I will sketch them again briefly.

“ 1st. ‘ That an unreformed parliament has repeatedly rejected our petitions without any rational cause, or even any plausible pretence for such rejection.’

“ 2nd. ‘ That we have nothing to amend in our political or moral conduct, or to alter in our religious principles, and as we cannot improve our merits, we must endeavour to improve the parliament, that it may do justice to those merits.’

“ 3rd. ‘ That an unreformed parliament cannot emancipate us, because it cannot destroy dissension among the Irish ; the instrument by which the Irish are at present weakened and ruled.’

“ 4th. ‘ That the present administration is not one from which any accession to public liberty can be expected.’

“ It is curious to see how Mr. Shiel has met the next topic in my address. Condensed, it amounted to this—

“ 5th. ‘ That the House of Lords, in the last sessions, devoted

months of attention to foreign prostitutes and varlets, and refused an hour to the rights of five millions of fellow-subjects.'

"Does Mr. Shiel deny this? No; but he justifies it. He says that the cause of the queen was of 'so absorbing a character,' that it 'blocked up all the avenues of the state,' and he adds in the happiest vein of the bathos, 'that in the shocks of an earthquake a house is not to be repaired.'

"That is, the contemptible and scandalous prosecution of the queen is, in Mr. Shiel's poetic language, 'shocks of an earthquake,' whilst the rights and liberties of five millions of men are the repairs of a house! !'

"Thus it is that we are undervalued and despised by our enemies, whilst Catholics of some cleverness abuse that cleverness by degrading our cause, and make our unjust sufferings an inferior and minor consideration. According to Mr. Shiel, the House of Lords was dignified by its attention to Dumont and Majocchi. These were shocks of the earthquake; but the liberties of the Catholics of Ireland were mere carpenter's work, too mechanical and base for high and noble minds.

"This, however, is only an instance of bad and vitiated taste. There is bad feeling as well as bad poetry in Mr. Shiel's describing the Catholic people as '*unnumbered idle pebbles.*' This bad compliment, too, he has given in italics, lest any of our insulting defamers should miss the pleasure of the application. Mr. Shiel is, no doubt, in his own opinion, a diamond of the first water—he is heartily welcome to sparkle at my expense; but let me implore of him with all the earnestness of the plainest prose, to refrain from his sneering sarcasms, directed against, after all, the finest as well as the most faithful—the long-suffering and very wretched people of Ireland.

"I have the honour to be, Fellow-Countrymen,

"Your ever faithful and devoted Servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

A couple of months subsequent to Mr. O'Connell's controversy with Mr. Shiel, the two following letters were drawn from him, by what seems to have been a very insidious attempt to carry some kind of "*securities*" measure, without giving Ireland time to remonstrate. The bills these letters refer to were suddenly, and without other notice than the indispensable forms of parliament required, brought in and urged forward by Mr. Plunket; at a time when most of the Catholic leaders being absent from Dublin, on the Spring Circuit, anything like a public demonstration against them appeared impossible

TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

“ Yes ; he would rather houseless roam,
Where freedom and his God may lead,
Than be the sleekest slave at home
That crouches to the conqueror's creed ”

—“ Limerick (on Circuit,) 17th March, 1821.

“ FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—Mr. Plunket's two bills are at length before you. They demand your most serious attention. They involve matters of vital importance to your liberties and to your religion. The interest they have excited is intense. No man can love freedom—no man can cherish the Catholic faith in its purity, without feeling the deepest anxiety and alarm.

“ The crisis has at length arrived when *delusion being no longer practicable*, every sincere Catholic must take a part. Apathy upon such subjects as these, and at such a period, is, perhaps, impossible, and would certainly be a crime of great magnitude. But to render activity and zeal useful and salutary, it is necessary that you should be well informed and instructed as to the nature and effects of the intended statutes.

“ You shall have all the information in my power to give. I will state to you simply and plainly the details and object of the proposed laws, and make them understood by every body. For this purpose it is necessary to strip them of that redundant verbiage which belongs to acts of parliament.

“ The first act is really an emancipation or relief bill. It purports to give us much—very much ; I believe Mr. Plunket thinks it would give us every thing we have asked for—namely, general eligibility. But he is mistaken. It in some material points would not operate to the extent he imagines. However, it would be a great—a very great boon ; and if it stood alone, it would be received with delight by every rational Catholic ; and it would go farther to conciliate the affections and to strengthen and secure the fidelity of the people of Ireland, than any law that has been enacted from the reign of Henry II. to the present period. If it stood alone, it would also give *unqualified* relief ; and such *unqualified* relief, even without being half so extensive as the present bill, would justly be a source of lively and permanent gratitude.

“ The objections which may be made to this relief bill appear to be principally these. First—It does not repeal any of the penal statutes ; and although it purports to destroy the effects of those statutes, it leaves them on the statute book, and thereby

subjects Catholics to *adverse constructions* of the law on future occasions. The simple way would be to repeal whatever is intended to be destroyed, and thereby to take away future controversy and litigation. Secondly—It provides no mode of remedy or redress for the assertion or vindication of the new rights which it confers; for example, it opens to Catholics all the corporations, but it affords no facilities to enable Catholics to effectuate their corporate rights. Thirdly—It announces no principle; it declares no right; it avoids all assertion of the maxims of political economy, and all notice of the impulses of Christian charity. It is dry, meagre, and jejune in its style, and is a composition totally unworthy of being the great social bond of affection and gratitude between nations and people.

“But, my countrymen, the bill itself is so very useful and beneficial a bill that we may and ought to overlook objections of this nature. We should recollect that so much of the above objections as are really important may hereafter be obviated. It may be possible, though it is not probable, that some occasion may hereafter arise to obviate all the unpleasant results of the causes I have alluded to. The bill, if it stood alone, would be an excellent bill, and a source of unmixed and enthusiastic congratulation amongst the lovers of liberty of conscience and the true friends of Ireland.

“Yet I acknowledge that there is a blemish in the bill which gives me some disgust. It is the equivocal language of the new oath. When we are called on to attest any proposition, in the name and in the awful presence of the Deity, the words of such proposition ought to be made as free from ambiguity as possible. It is not so in the new oath. Ambiguous language is used, and used intentionally, and as it were by choice. In truth, the words are so doubtful, and the natural meaning is so repugnant to our religion, that we would reject the new oath at once, but for the legislative declaration which accompanies it, and gives to the words a sense and meaning apparently consistent with Catholic principles.

“I know that the doctrine of our Church respecting oaths is, that an oath is to be taken according to the meaning given to the words by the propounder of such oath. The person who takes the oath is not at liberty to affix another meaning to those words. He must either refuse to take the oath altogether, or oblige his conscience according to the intention of the propounder. Equivocation and mental reservation in oaths have been imputed to our Church but have been most falsely imputed. Our

doctrine is directly the reverse; and the only reason why I would think of taking the oath specified in the new bill, is because the legislature which propounds the oath declares, by the same law, that it has, and ought to have, a meaning, which I conceive is not inconsistent with the Catholic religion.

"I quit the first act for the present. It is, after all, a *relief* bill. The second act gives no *relief*, and is simply a *penal* and *restrictive* law of the worst description.

"Before I proceed to speak of this second act in the terms it merits, I will give a brief and accurate statement of its contents; and I begin with the title. It is called an act "*To regulate the intercourse between persons in holy orders professing the Roman Catholic religion, with the see of Rome.*" This title is broken English and bad grammar. But it is infinitely worse. It has all the characteristics of complete falsehood—the '*suppressio veri,*' the '*suggestio falsi.*' TRUTH is suppressed, because the principal object of the bill does not relate to such intercourse at all; but is to give to the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant the absolute appointment of all the bishops and all the deans of the Catholic Church in Ireland. FALSEHOOD is suggested—because this is not a bill to *regulate* the intercourse (for *regulate* means '*to order by rule:*') but it is a bill to control, according to caprice, that intercourse, and to control it according to the caprice of a Protestant secretary of state. It is in this respect a bill to suppress the necessary intercourse upon matters of faith and discipline between that part of the Catholic or universal Church of Christ which is in Ireland, and the Pope or visible head upon earth of that Church.

"From the falsehood of the title I proceed to the mischiefs of the proposed enactments.

"The act contains two recitals, and twenty-two sections. Any person desirous of ascertaining with accuracy the minutest details of this most important act, would do well to procure a copy of it, and to follow me whilst I point out its various details.

"I begin with the recitals. They are to be found—first, at the commencement of the act; secondly, in the sixth section.

"The first recital is in substance this—'*Whereas it is expedient that such precautions should be taken with respect to persons to be appointed to exercise the functions of bishop or dean in the Catholic Church in Ireland, as that no person shall assume any part of such functions whose loyalty and peaceable conduct shall not have been previously ascertained to the satisfaction of his Majesty, his heirs and successors.*' The second recital—

thing very unusual—repeats the first as above, with the addition of saying that it is *fit* as well as *expedient* to ascertain *the loyalty and peaceable conduct* of our bishops as well as deans. But what is the fitness—what is the expediency of such ascertainment? Let me most earnestly, and I will add, most humbly ask, what is the necessity, or where is the occasion, for any such ascertainment? Loyalty!! Are our bishops disloyal? Is there a disloyal man amongst them? I will go farther; has there ever—aye, include the worst of times—has there ever, even in the worst of times, been a single one of the Irish Catholic bishops disloyal? NEVER—NO, NEVER. I defy a single one to be named as even suspected of disloyalty, and you may take the dead as well as the living.

“There certainly was one Irish bishop tried and executed for treason; and he bore the inauspicious name of Plunket. But his case forms no exception. He was certainly innocent. The accusation against him was ridiculous. He fell beneath the oaths of the infamous comrades of the infamous Titus Oates. His trial and his death only reflect disgrace on the more infamous judges and juries of his day. His fate casts no shade on the loyalty of the Irish Catholic bishops.

“The next thing to be ascertained after the loyalty, is ‘THE PEACEABLE CONDUCT.’ Sacred God! *the peaceable conduct* of our deans and bishops! Are our clergy, then, such brawlers and rioters?—are our clergy such ruffians and bravoës that there is danger lest they should select for their dignitaries, their deans and bishops, men who are so likely to break the peace that the Protestant Church and the Protestant succession are in danger unless the Crown shall be enabled to exclude the turbulent from rank in the Catholic hierarchy? There are upwards of three thousand priests in Ireland; and yet who ever hears or has heard of any of them engaging in riots or fights, or showing any thing but *peaceable conduct*? Come forward, Mr. Plunket—you who presume, with your double recital, to impute to at least some, if not to all, the priests of Ireland, a tendency to break the peace. Come forward and state whether you ever knew, or have heard of any other than *peaceable conduct*. You cannot allege that you have; and therefore allow me, in the sorrow of my heart, to ask you, how you could have the heart to put upon perpetual record these horrid imputations on a priesthood who never offended you. It was scarcely decent in you, the apparent advocate of Catholics, to inflict ridicule and even ribaldry, on our doctrine of the real presence—more especially when you ap-

pear not to understand that doctrine. But what excuse can you give for suggesting any danger of the disloyalty or turbulence of the Catholic priesthood of Ireland.

"I will restrain the honest indignation I feel at this part of the proposed penal law, and return to its enactments. But I must first notice the remainder of the second recital.

"It is in substance this:—FIRST, *that it is reasonable and necessary that government should be informed of the nature and extent of ANY intercourse which may take place with a foreign power.* SECONDLY—I will give this curious *secondly* in its very words; attend to them, Catholics of Ireland, as a specimen of the species of dexterity with which your religion is assailed. *'And whereas the laws made in former times against intercourse between the subjects of this realm and the see of Rome are of extreme and undistinguishing rigour and severity.'*

"Now, Catholics of Ireland—honest and sincere Catholics of Ireland, you who, in spite of the ribaldry of Mr. Plunket, believe in the real presence—in that tenet of the sweetest and tenderest charity—in that consolatory tenet which, thank God, is sanctioned, not only by the most clear and unequivocal texts, and *repeated and repeated* passages of the written Word, as well as by the authority of that Church which, being founded on a rock, defies force as well as fraud, Mr. Plunket; you, I say, honest and sincere Catholics, *mark me*: my reputation as a lawyer is of some value to me; your enemies and mine will admit that it is worth me some thousands of pounds by the year. I repeat, *mark me*:

"I forego that reputation, and consent to pass, for all future days, as utterly ignorant of my profession, unless what I say to you now be true. And at this peril, and under this sanction, and as a lawyer and a man, I tell you that *the recital which imports that there is rigour or severity in any existing law upon the subject of such intercourse is totally false in point of law and of fact.* It is a mistake of the most gross and palpable kind to the mind of a lawyer.

"The statutes to which it chiefly alludes, if it alludes to any thing in particular, and is not meant for mere deception—the statutes to which it *might* allude, were statutes chiefly passed by Catholic parliaments, and sanctioned by all the *native* Catholic priests and bishops in England. Believe me, however, that there is no law of *extreme* or of *undistinguishing* severity against that intercourse which the Catholic clergy of Ireland have always had with the see of Rome. If there were any such law, the

Orangemen of Ireland, in their various branches, would long since have inflicted the penalties of it on the Catholic clergy. We owe nothing to either their forbearance, or that of Mr. Plunket. Our clergy owe their safety to the happy fact of the non-existence of such laws.

“ Now, I ask you, fellow-countrymen, why this false recital was inserted? The reason is obvious—to make you believe that this new penal law was a relaxation of some ancient and more vexatious statutes, and was a mitigation of some pre-existing evil; instead of being, as it really is, the most powerful and dangerous attack that has as yet been made upon the Catholic church in Ireland.

“ Let us now quit the recitals in this bill, and see whether the enactments do not also more than justify my description of this new species of assault on our religion.

“ The enactments are of two kinds. *FIRST—those that purport to relate to the intercourse between our clergy and the spiritual head of our Church. SECONDLY—those that relate to the appointment of deans and bishops in Ireland.*

“ The intercourse with the Pope is to be controlled in two ways:—*first*, by a new oath; *secondly*, by a Board of Control.

“ The appointment of our bishops is much more simple. The new Board has, in fact, nothing to do with it. There is, to be sure, a new oath; but that goes for nothing. The plan simply is, to give the absolute appointment of both deans and bishops to the secretary of the Castle. He is, in future, to be Catholic diocesan—Catholic chapter—and Pope in Ireland!

“ I will take up the two subjects in their order. In the first instance, *the intercourse with Rome*; in the next, *the appointment of deans and bishops in Ireland.*

“ With respect to such intercourse, the bill provides, in the first section, a new oath; in the second section, a punishment for not taking the oath; in the third section it names the courts in which that oath is to be taken and recorded. It then, according to the usual contempt of distinctness and order with which statutes are drawn up, introduces other matter in two sections. And to return to *the intercourse* in the sixth section.

“ The sixth section provides for the creation of a new Board, to control the intercourse with Rome. The seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth sections contain regulations as to the proceedings of that Board; and which I shall detail hereafter. This matter is passed over from the fifteenth to the nineteenth sections—is taken up

again in the nineteenth, and continued to the end of the act. I shall have occasion to notice almost every one of those sections.

“But let me, in the first place, call your attention to the new oath, as specified in the first section. It is an oath to be taken by all the Catholic clergy, present and future. It embraces both the objects of this bill. I pass over for the present the part that relates to the appointment of deans and bishops. As far as relates to the intercourse with Rome, it requires every priest to swear, ‘*that he will not have any correspondence or communication with the see of Rome, or with any authority under that see, tending directly or indirectly to overthrow or disturb the Protestant government or the Protestant Church of Great Britain and Ireland, or the Protestant Church of Scotland, as by law established;*’ and further, that he will hold no communication which may interfere with or affect the civil duty and allegiance which is due to the crown.

“The last clause is quite innocent, and, in truth, is included in stronger terms in our present oaths. It is to the clause in Italics that I would particularly direct the attention of every conscientious Catholic layman, as well as of every priest in Ireland.

“The first question I ask is—will the priests—can the priests take this oath, without incurring a direct breach of their duty, and the immediate guilt of perjury? I submit this question to their consciences. If they decide in the affirmative, I shall submit; but at present it strikes my mind very strongly that they cannot take this oath at all.

“As far as relates to the Protestant government, this oath is, of course, safe, and is, in substance, taken already. But as far as relates to the Protestant Church, it appears to interpose frightful difficulties. The Protestant Church is composed of individuals. It is an aggregate of single persons. We conscientiously believe that the Protestant Church is in error. We distinctly believe and are convinced, that its doctrines are erroneous—that is, that the doctrine of each individual in it is erroneous. It is, therefore, the duty of every priest, and indeed of every layman, patiently and charitably to convince, by reasoning and argument, each Protestant of his error. Now, by persuading a single Protestant of his error, you do that which at least *indirectly tends to disturb* the Protestant Church. If you were to convince them all, you would at once overthrow, or rather annihilate, the Protestant Church: and every step in the process towards such

overthrow must be a disturbance ; or, at the very least, must have either a direct or *indirect tendency to disturb.*

“ Men may be converted by the efficacy of prayer, by the force of preaching, by the strength of good example, by the nature and the administration of our sacraments ; in short, by each and every of the functions of a Catholic priest. But with respect to these functions, he must be in constant communication with the see of Rome. He must hold perpetual intercourse with persons acting under her authority. If he takes this oath, he must disclaim all communion with that see ; and he will thereby cease to belong to the religion which has been clung to with affectionate tenacity through many an age of darkness and storm by the people of Ireland. Their priests never deserted the people ; and the people will never forsake their priesthood. The present attempt will be as abortive as all the former assaults ; and Mr. Plunket’s new-fangled oath will be treated with quiet contempt by a patient, long-suffering, and insulted people.

“ Yes, both people and priesthood are insulted by this disgusting oath. Insulted, not only because of its being unnecessary, so far as relates to government and civil allegiance, and because of its direct violation of the charitable duties of the priesthood ; but more especially and pointedly insulted, because, even if taken by our priests, they are to get no credit for their swearing. It is on this bill a mere superfluous swearing. The priests are not to be believed after they swear. Not the least attention is paid to their oath. They are to be watched as closely and as severely controlled by the new Board, as if no such oath were required.

“ The object, therefore, of this oath is no other than to degrade the Catholic priesthood in the eyes of their flocks ; to exhibit them in the attitude of swearers at the Custom-house—sworn to in every thing, and confided to in nothing.

“ From this degrading oath we will proceed to the Board which is to disbelieve and to control the swearers.

“ By the sixth section that board is to be constituted as follows :—The King is to appoint, by commission under the great seal, certain persons to be commissioners—five of whom shall constitute a quorum ; but the number of the commissioners is unlimited. They are to form the Board of Control.

“ The persons eligible to be commissioners are given in this order :—1st. Catholic bishops ; and secondly, Protestant privy councillors. Such are the component part of the Board of Control, according to the text or body of the bill. The margin, as if for the purpose of delusion, throws in Catholic laymen as also

eligible, but the body of the bill is silent with respect to laymen.

“By the seventh section it is that we are given to understand that five are to form a quorum for business. The eighth section provides that one member shall be the secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, being a Protestant, or! some other Protestant privy councillor; and also one Catholic bishop. The margin, again going beyond the text, adds one Catholic layman. The ninth section provides that the secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, or in his absence, the commissioners first named in the commission shall be the president of the Board. The tenth empowers the crown to revoke the commission when and as often as it shall think fit. The eleventh provides that on the revocation of one commission a new one shall issue. The twelfth section specifies the oath to be taken by the commissioners. I shall have occasion to call your attention to *that* oath. The thirteenth section enables the Board to make rules to regulate its own proceedings, and to appoint *secretaries* and *clerks*—aye, in the plural—*secretaries* and *clerks*; and, by way of a hint to such officers, the fourteenth section provides that *the commissioners* shall take no fee or salary. The fifteenth section sets out an oath to be taken by the secretaries and clerks.

“Such is the constitution of this new Board. Before I speak of its duties, allow me to say a few words respecting such its formation. You have too much sense and shrewdness, my countrymen, not to see that it is a mere form—a mere delusion—or, what is vulgarly called in Ireland, *a humbug*. It is essentially Protestant; indeed, for all working purposes, it is exclusively Protestant. For the crown, though it *must* nominate one or perhaps two Catholics, *may* nominate five hundred Protestants. Then if either Catholic or Protestant commissioner displeases the minister, such commissioner can be cashiered and turned off with quite as little civility and less ceremony than you could dismiss a footboy,

“This, therefore, is a mere *humbug* board. Its complicated details are introduced merely to delude. Such a board must be merely the echo of the will of the secretary of the Castle. If they dared to dissent from him, they would be dismissed at the instant, and more pliant commissioners found without difficulty.

“To continue the delusion, it will be said that the Catholic commissioners would form a check on the Protestants, and on the minister, and prevent any injury from being inflicted on the Catholic religion. Consider this matter for one moment, and you will see how impossible it would be for the Catholic commis-

sioners to check any adverse measure. They could do so only by one of three ways :—*first*, by outvoting the Protestants ; *secondly*, by an appeal to a court of law ; *thirdly*, by an appeal to public opinion, and to the sense of public decency. As to the first, it is absurd to suppose that the Catholic commissioners will ever equal in number the Protestants. That is quite absurd. I need not waste time in proving that they never could outvote the Protestants. You may have Doctor Troy and the Earl of Fingal at one side of the table ; but you would have the Chancellor, the Attorney-General, Sir George Hill, Lord Frankfort, and probably Sir Harcourt Lees, at the other. But I only waste time in proving what no man can doubt.

“The next resource would be an appeal to a court of law. But alas ! there would be no kind of legal remedy for any mischief this board may cause. We should only be scouted out of a court of law.

“The remaining resource would be an appeal to public opinion and to public decency. This at best would be but a poor remedy in Ireland, especially after the specimen Mr. Plunket has given us in traducing our religion, whilst he appeared to be our advocate. But even this poor resource is not left, because the oath of the commissioners, as given in the twelfth section, precludes that, for it is an oath of secrecy. It is an oath that the commissioners will not publish or disclose any matter coming to his knowledge as such, save to his majesty or by his majesty’s command.

“Mark that oath well. It precludes the Catholic commissioner from disclosing any conspiracy which may be arranged in the Board to injure the Catholic religion. But if there should be any thing the disclosure of which could hurt us, it leaves every commissioner at liberty to disclose *that*, by his majesty’s command !

“I have long known that Mr. Plunket was a man of great and powerful ingenuity ; but I did not think he had acuteness enough to frame so complete a snare for the Catholic religion. I still cannot give Mr. Plunket credit for the extreme fitness of his ‘infernal machine,’ as the French would call it. I think he must have been aided by some personage still more ingenious than himself, and one possessed of deep malignity.

“I shall now proceed to point out the functions of this humbug Board, as I have already traced its constitution. These functions are declared by the statute from the nineteenth section to the end. They relate to all bulls, rescripts, and *instruments* coming to *any Catholic*—lay or ecclesiastical—from, first, *the*

See of Rome ; or, secondly, from *any foreign body* ; or, thirdly, from *any foreign individual whatsoever* ; or fourthly, from *any person or body in foreign parts acting under the authority of the See of Rome* ; or, fifthly, from *any person or body in foreign parts acting under any other spiritual superior* ; all such instruments—and the word *instrument* includes letters of all kinds—must be laid before the Board. Yes, as the bill is printed, without any reference to the contents or subject matter. Yes, this bill is printed in a way so general as to affect *all* his majesty's subjects upon all topics whatsoever. A Committee of the House may, and I think must, confine the operation of the law to matters of doctrine or discipline, or to ecclesiastical affairs. At present the matter is left at large : and this extreme extent proves at least the voraciousness with which it is sought to swallow up all our religious concerns.

“ Within a given time after the receipt of every such instrument, it is, under severe penalties, to be laid before the Humbug Board—that is, in fact, before the secretary or clerks at the Castle. And if they find any thing in it which *appears to them in any way injurious to the safety or tranquillity of the state*, or of the *Established Church*, they are to suppress it :—otherwise they are, at their good leisure, to return it, with a certificate of *innocency*.

“ There is by the twentieth section, a species of exception in favour of instruments confined solely and exclusively to the spiritual concerns of an individual or individuals, with this addition, that *they must be of such a nature as cannot, according to the discipline of our Church, be submitted to lay inspection*. With this minute qualification surcharged upon the instrument, being *solely and exclusively* relative to the *spiritual* concerns of an individual, the commissioners are to decide ; and if they, ‘ in the exercise of their judgment and discretion,’ think fit, they *may* refer the instrument to the senior Catholic commissioner, and upon his certificate, and upon his oath, the instrument is to be returned to the person sending it in. But it is quite clear that the commissioners are at full liberty to *exercise their judgment and discretion*, and to read it and retain it if they please. Ay, and to publish its contents by *his Majesty's command* !

“ The distinction is just this : All instruments relative to doctrine, discipline, ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs, save those that relate solely to the spiritual concerns of an individual, *must* be read by the Board. They *may* read those which relate solely and exclusively to the spiritual concerns of an individual. The difference is only in words.

“Such is the intended operation of the new bill ; such is the thralldom under which Mr. Plunket would place all communications between the Irish Catholics and the See of Rome. It was rightly prophesied by a Catholic vetoist, in my presence, that if even a modified veto were given to the Crown, the Catholic religion could not survive it fifty years in Ireland. If this bill passes, the Catholic religion cannot subsist one hour, except by means of disobeying its provisions, and submitting to the martyrdom of its penalties. Our fathers would have done so. Are we less faithful or less interested in the purity of the Catholic faith ? Our eternal salvation is involved in the question, and the trifles of this world vanish as empty baubles during the contemplation of the awful results.

“There are two questions which any statesman, not carried away by an overweening anxiety to injure and degrade our religion, would have asked before he brought in such a bill. The first is, whether those provisions are at all necessary for the government ?—the second, whether they be practicable ? Both these questions should be answered by every fair man in the negative.

“Those provisions are not necessary for the safety of the state, for the following among other reasons :—First, the correspondence with the See of Rome is carried on upon subjects of an ecclesiastical and spiritual nature solely, and, therefore, upon matters which do not concern the State, as the State has no connexion with our Church ; secondly, that correspondence is carried on by persons (namely our clergy) of unsuspected and unimpeachable loyalty ; and, thirdly, if those persons were disloyal, the existing laws are already quite sufficient to protect the State against them.

“The existing law inflicts a punishment upon any person, whether layman or clergyman, who corresponds with any foreign power to the prejudice of our government, and the punishment for that offence is no less than hanging by the neck, but not until the party be dead ; for before death the party is to be cut down, and his bowels ripped open and flung in his face ; and his head is then to be cut off, and his four quarters are to be at the King’s disposal. I am quite serious. This punishment is that which the law prescribes against any correspondence with a foreign state contrary to the duty of our allegiance.

“I humbly think such punishment quite sufficient to deter persons from committing the offence, to guard against which all the machinery of the new Board is got up. It is, therefore, ridiculous to talk of the new Board being necessary as an adjunct

to our law of treason. The truth is plain and stares every man in the face. The new Board is not intended to guard against the idle and imaginary dangers of a traitorous correspondence—a species of correspondence which, it is clear, would never be exposed to the Board. No! The real object of the Board is different. It is simply to place all the details of the Irish Catholic Church in the hands of Protestants, and then to control and crush that Church in all her branches.

“Having thus shown that the provisions of the new act are unnecessary, I proceed to show that they are impracticable. They are impracticable, because, in the first place, the assent of the Pope would at all events be necessary before the Catholic clergy could accede to them. But that assent will not be given. Cardinal Litta, in the celebrated Genoese Letter, although he gives, on the part of the Pope, some assent to vetoistical arrangements—yet he goes on to declare that *the exposing the correspondence with the See of Rome cannot be listened to even for the purpose of discussion*. We are therefore in possession of the express rejection by the Pope of this very measure which Mr. Plunket vainly wishes the parliament to force on us.

“In the next place the Catholic clergy cannot dispose to ‘the discretion and judgment’ of the Board the correspondence which relates to the spiritual concerns of individuals. Such correspondence has, of its nature, a connexion with sacramental confession, and cannot, therefore, be disclosed. The Catholic priests of Ireland, whatever their traducers may say to the contrary, would suffer to be torn limb from limb rather than make any disclosure having a tendency, either directly or indirectly, to reveal matters known to them by confession. It will, therefore, be impossible to submit the private spiritual concerns of individuals to any Board, and there must be a very malignant spirit of hostility to Catholics in the mind of the man, or men, who could think of requiring a disclosure of that nature. And yet, my countrymen, the present penal bill would directly subject such private and spiritual concerns to ‘the judgment and discretion’ of a Protestant tribunal; and that, too, after requiring an oath from a Catholic priest, that the particular letter or instrument related *solely and exclusively* to the private spiritual concerns of an individual. It is quite in the spirit of this act, first, to require an oath from the Catholic priest, and then to go on with its precautions, just as if that oath did not deserve any the slightest credit.

“Another reason why the Catholic clergy cannot submit the

inspection of all the correspondence on faith and discipline to a Board essentially Protestant is this : They cannot, without violating their consciences, make such a Board the arbiter of our faith or our discipline. They cannot suffer matters of such high importance to the eternal welfare of their flocks, to be impeded and interrupted by either the false zeal, the malevolent hatred, or the contemptuous caprice of the clerks of the Castle. They cannot submit to those clerks the details of crime or of accusation, which must be referred to, for example, in an appeal by a clergyman suspended or silenced for alleged immorality. A single case of that kind, published at the instance of the Attorney-General, commanding *the publication in the name of his Majesty*, and published in the hostile newspapers of Dublin, would inflict perpetual ridicule and disgrace on the Catholic religion.

“I need not follow this subject farther. The object of the present bill is plainly to cover our religion with disgrace and obloquy ; to control it at the caprice of its bitterest enemies ; to stop the course of its discipline ; to expose our clergy to contempt ; and, in fine, to give active operation to all those concealed causes and motives which, in the constitution of human nature, must have the most powerful tendency to annihilate and extinguish our religion.

“I do therefore say, that the Catholic clergy cannot possibly submit to the proposed Board. Mr. Plunket may, it is true, make martyrs of them ; but let him rest assured that he will not be able to make them traitors to their religion and to their God.

“There remains much of this abominable bill still to be considered. There remain all its details of the new veto. We never before heard, or had any the slightest intimation, of a design to extend the veto to our deans. The merit of this extension is the exclusive property of Mr. Plunket. This out-Heroding of Herod belongs to Mr. Plunket. Let him have the sole and exclusive honour of it, especially as he has invented it in his capacity of our advocate.

“There also remain the various and complicated penalties and punishments introduced by this bill to be inflicted on clergy and laity for the free exercise of the Catholic religion. I must, I find, reserve the veto and the penalties for another letter.

“For the present, I close with an earnest entreaty to every sincere and honest Catholic to procure a copy of this bill, and to read it attentively. It is the more necessary for individuals to make themselves masters of the subjects, because in the present

state of the press of Dublin, little aid and less support can be obtained. The Catholicity of Ireland is at stake, and no man can value his religion who does not at least make himself acquainted with this most important subject.

"I pledge myself not to close my next letter without demonstrating, if it be not already done, that the present bill is, beyond comparison, more *strictly, literally, and emphatically a penal and persecuting bill* than any or all the statutes passed in the darkest and most bigoted periods of the reigns of Queen Anne, or of the two first Georges. Its title should be : An act to 'decatholicise' Ireland ; for that is certainly its object.

"Fellow-countrymen, I write to you in sorrow as well as the sincerity of my heart. I place great confidence in your good sense. I place great confidence in the sincerity of your attachment to the faith of the uninterrupted Church of Christ : but my greatest and most firm reliance is upon that God, who protected our fathers amidst the flames of persecution, and may in his mercy guard their children from the pestilence of pretended friendship.

"I am, my beloved countrymen,

"Your ever faithful and devoted Servant,
"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

LETTER III.

"TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

"'Yes; he would rather houseless roam,
Where freedom and his God may lead,
Than be the sleekest slave at home
That crouches to the conqueror's creed.'

"Limerick, 20th March, 1821

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—I have endeavoured in my first letter to point out the mischiefs of Mr. Plunket's bill, so far as it relates to that object to which alone its title alludes—the intercourse with Rome. I will now, in the name of God, proceed to show you all the abominations of the double veto which that bill contains. This veto is the principal and leading purport of the bill, although it is studiously suppressed in the title.

"The vetoistical matter is confined to a part of the oath in

the first section, and to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth sections.

“ I have already stated the parts of the oath which relate to the correspondence with Rome. There is, in addition to this passage : The priest must swear he will not concur in the appointment of any bishop, save of a person of *unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct*.

“ I object to this oath, because it presupposes a necessity for such swearing. It presupposes that which is a foul, and, thank God, an unfounded calumny—namely, that there have been Irish bishops of doubtful loyalty and of disorderly conduct. Besides this, swearing is quite thrown away. The priest gets no kind of credit for his swearing—the law proceeds with as much rigour as if the priest had not been sworn.

“ The veto itself comes next. It comes in the blackest and most undisguised colours. Listen, Catholics of Ireland, to the simple and efficacious plan which Mr. Plunket has devised, in order to give the Secretary of the Castle the appointment of our bishops and deans, and to convert our priests into sycophants, and expectants on the bounty of the Castle.

“ The sixteenth section enacts, *that every person who shall hereafter be nominated to the office of bishop or dean, in the Catholic Church in Ireland, shall, before his consecration or acting as such, give notice to the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, and that he shall not be consecrated or exercise any functions of bishop or dean if such Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant shall inform him in writing that he is considered by his majesty's government to be, for some reason of a civil nature, a person improper for such office !*

“ Honest and conscientious Catholics, who understand how matters are managed at the Castle, what say you to that? Mr. Canning's veto bill was nothing to it ! But I anticipate.

“ It is then provided that this notice, which is to disqualify any priest from being a bishop or dean in the Catholic Church, must be—what think you? *Why, under the hand, and the seal too, of the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant !* Wonderful mark of condescension !

“ But lest this precious document should be lost or mislaid, and lest there should be any difficulty in prosecuting a conscientious Catholic bishop or dean, the seventeenth section provides that such certificate of disapprobation shall be enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, and that an attested copy of it shall be evidence against any Catholic clergyman upon any prosecution under this act !

“The eighteenth section follows up the persecution to its climax, and makes it an indictable offence to exercise *any part* of the functions of a dean or bishop, without having on his nomination signified the same to the Castle, or after he has been disapproved of by the Secretary. Now, even on an idle accusation for such an offence, any Catholic priest may be dragged from his flock; thrown into a jail for six or eight months, although guiltless; and if convicted by an Orange jury, he is to be liable to punishment. The extent of that punishment is not defined as yet. It may be hanging; it may be reduced to transportation; it may be only whipping; it cannot be less than fine and imprisonment. Punished, however, he must be. The punishment is already certain. The quantity alone is doubtful.

“Such, my beloved countrymen, is Mr. Plunket’s bill. It is an impudent veto. I will not call it less. It is an audacious attempt to place all the Catholic clergy in Ireland under the worst species of ministerial control, and also to leave them at the mercy of every malignant Orange informer. In the province of Ulster the Catholic clergy would be annihilated by this bill, and, as far as I am concerned, I would infinitely rather perish with disgrace on a scaffold than assent to such a law.

“Heretofore the idea of a government appointment was confined to bishops. We owe it altogether to Mr. Plunket that the notion is extended to deans. The minuteness of his dislike to the Catholic Church has induced him to go beyond every former attempt; and he will soon be discontented if he cannot extend severity and punishment to the most humble orders of our clergy.

“You have now, my countrymen, the bill before you. It gives directly and in plain terms the installation of your deans and bishops to the Castle. The way in which the authority of the Castle is exercised is familiar to us all. It is parcelled out amongst the ministerial members for each county; and as the revenue officers and stamp distributors are now nominated by those members, so in future, under this law, the Catholic deans and bishops, in each county, would become part of their *patronage* and *emolument*. Those persons are familiarly known at the Castle and in the country by the appellation of ‘county patrons.’

“What course should a priest, under that system, pursue in order to be made a dean or bishop? He must consult the interest and court the patronage of the *patron* of his county—that is, of the chief supporter of the minister amongst the county members. At present, learning, piety, and zeal, are the ingre-

dients which facilitate the promotion of a bishop in our Church. What will the 'county patron' care for the learning of a Catholic priest? Our county patrons are, in general, blessed be God! men as destitute of learning as can well be imagined. They are, in general, incapable of appreciating its value in any person. They would hate and despise it in a Catholic priest. Learning would certainly be no recommendation to them.

"The piety of a Catholic priest would serve him in still less stead with the county patron. In the first place, all the present county patrons have sworn—have solemnly and repeatedly sworn—that the exercises of that piety are impious and idolatrous. In the next place, the piety of a Catholic priest may be highly offensive to the 'patron.' It *may* offend his minions or his friends, if the patron has any bigots amongst his friends—and what county patron has not?—and how many of the patrons are bigots themselves? In every such case the piety of a Catholic priest will make enemies for him, in the person and about the person of the country patron, and ensure his exclusion from all promotion in his church.

But if piety be dangerous to any candidate for promotion, zeal would be quite destructive of all hope. The zealous priest should oppose, in private and in public, as far as he can (without violating charity), the vices of the 'patron,' and of his friends. The zealous priest must oppose the great *Education Swindle* of Kildare-street, which is a favourite to so many bigots. The zealous priest must oppose every other fraudulent scheme of underhand proselytism. He must discountenance and expose the 'patron' and his friends in their plans of making every man a kind of founder of a sect, by sending him to pick a religion for himself out of what we deem a corrupt version of so much of the Word of God as has been preserved in writing, to the utter exclusion of that part which has been preserved in our church by tradition. For each and every of these acts he is certain of being excluded from promotion in his church.

"If he shall, in his zeal, *disturb* the minion of the mistress of the 'patron;' if in his zeal he shall convert a single Protestant, or bring back from error a single stray Catholic; if by his preaching, his prayers, his zealous exertions, he should extend the bounds of Catholicity—of that Catholicity which the patron has sworn to be impious and idolatrous—what possibility is there of his being a dean or a bishop, so long as that patron can exclude him?

"Thus, my countrymen, you see at once this obvious conse-

quence, that under Mr. Plunket's bill, a Catholic clergyman cannot expect promotion by means of the qualities which best entitle him to it. His learning will be useless to him. His piety will be dangerous to him. His zeal, destructive. What qualities, then, will serve him? What qualifications will secure his appointment? The detail is short, plain, and simple.

"[Mr. O'Connell has written his letters in the little intervals snatched from the arduous professional avocations of a busy circuit. He has not been able to finish them at two or at six sittings, or to send them to us *otherwise than in portions*. We promised in the *Herald* of Tuesday, his second letter on the Double Pains and Penalties' Bill, and we were, by the post of yesterday, furnished with so much of it as the reader has just perused. We expected the conclusion by this morning's mail, but, instead of it, we have received the annexed note. The entire we shall certainly be able to give on the next Tuesday.]

"TO THE PROPRIETOR OF THE 'EVENING HERALD.'

Limerick, 22nd March, 1821.

"MY DEAR SIR—The pressure of professional business has rendered it impossible for me to send you the remainder of my second letter by this post. I regret this circumstance, because I think it of great importance that the Catholics of Ireland should become acquainted with the remainder of the Veto Bill as soon as possible. I am particularly anxious that the various pains, penalties, and punishments to which, if this bill passes, our clergy will be subjected, should be distinctly understood. I also wish that the Catholics should see how admirably contrived the bill is to prevent its lying for one hour as a dead letter, and to make it execute itself.

"For the present I can only pledge myself to demonstrate, in your next publication, that there has not hitherto existed in Ireland any law so horribly cruel to the Catholic clergy as that which Mr. Plunket proposes.

"I am, my dear Sir, your very obedient Servant,
"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

The bills of Mr. Plunket passed the lower house, but were fortunately defeated in the upper upon the second reading.

considerable degree of division and angry discussion had arisen among the Catholics, with relation to them, but the majority of the country, headed by the prelates, repudiated them, and hailed their defeat with satisfaction.

Matters that occurred during the debates upon them in parliament, drew from Mr. O'Connell the following letter :—

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE CORK MERCANTILE
CHRONICLE.

“ SIR—I should pass over in silence the mention lately made in parliament of my name, but that I think it may be injurious to the cause of anti-vetoism, if I did not contradict one assertion which appears to have been made there.

“ Mr. Martin of Galway is reported to have said two things of me : first, that I had endeavoured to procure a requisition for a Catholic aggregate meeting in Dublin, *and was unable to obtain more than nine signatures* ; secondly, that I have no chance of a place, or, in his own words, not less true than facetious, that if it rained places, not one would be given to me.

“ The first of these things Mr. Martin spoke from information, and I beg to inform him that his informant entirely deceived him. There was not the slightest foundation whatsoever for the story. The tale was a pure invention of the person who related it to Mr. Martin, and I presume he will be glad to know how little credit ought in future to be given to the person who misinformed him.

“ When I left Dublin there was not the least notion of an aggregate meeting. The resolutions in the committee of the whole house, as proposed by Mr. Plunket, were so vague, general, and unobjectionable, that no aggregate meeting could be held to oppose that veto, which was carefully concealed, until the bills were brought in, and until it was not possible any longer to conceal it. But *at that time* the circuits had gone out. It seemed as if there were a very dexterous management to keep back the veto until after the Catholic lawyers and country clergymen had left Dublin for the assizes. The consequences which were, I believe, foreseen, have actually taken place, and Dublin, instead of giving, as it formerly did, and as it naturally ought, the tone to the clergy and laity of Ireland, will now receive its own impulse from the clergy and laity of the provinces.

“ With regard to the second allegation of Mr. Martin, I admit its force and its truth. I receive it as unmixed praise. If I am not looking for place or office, it furnishes a strong argument to

prove that I am honest. In religion I am a sincere Catholic ; in politics I am a sincere reformer. I come, indeed, within the class of radicals, and owning myself a radical, I cannot be surprised or displeased to hear it said, either that I am not suited for office, or that office is not suited to me.

“Avowing these principles—looking upon reform as absolutely necessary, and the repeal of the union as a measure without which Ireland cannot prosper, I am pleased to have obtained the censure of Lord Castlereagh. May I never live to sustain the infliction of his lordship's praise. He says, ‘I have not cultivated the peace or tranquillity of Ireland. The species of cultivation in which his lordship has been engaged, and the fruits it has produced are, indeed, apparent. I think that the peace of Ireland would be promoted, and her tranquillity ensured by a reformed and a resident parliament. His lordship is of that class of politicians—*‘ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.’* My plan would be different. I would people our solitudes with a free and happy nation ; and the bloodless revolutions on the Continent of Europe prove that my daydream for unhappy Ireland may yet be realised. This hope may the more confidently be entertained, as we neither wish for, nor want any revolution. All that is necessary for us is restoration and reform.

“I am glad to find that those who deem a public meeting to be only ‘a farce,’ are getting up a protest. That is quite right. We shall now be able to count our vetoists. In Limerick they were, I think, nineteen. One has since deserted. We can easily count them—but could they count us ?

“I have the honour to be,

Your obedient Servant,

“DANIEL O'CONNELL.”

The divisions which had once more become thus painfully notorious in the Catholic body, prevailing during the spring and summer of 1821. They manifested themselves strikingly in the dispute which occurred respecting the terms of a requisition for a meeting, which took place in July, about the time when it was first known with certainty, that the king would visit Ireland.

Mr. O'Connell drew up the first form of requisition which invited the Catholics to take the occasion of their preparations for the king's visit, to assemble and consider also of the state of their affairs, and what line of conduct it might be their interest to pursue in the then depressed and gloomy state of their prospects.

Lords Fingal, Netterville, Gormanstown, and Killeen, with Sir John Burke, Mr. Bagot, and other commoners, published a *protest* against—

“Connecting in any manner the general question of Catholic affairs, with the object of voting a congratulatory address to his most gracious majesty, on the auspicious event of his visiting this country.”

They accordingly got up another requisition “for the sole purpose of addressing S. M. majesty.

Mr. O'Connell, anxious for unanimity, readily yielded his own views and adopted their requisition.

STATUE OF KING WILLIAM

It was at this time that the old Orange Corporation of Dublin, held out, for the first time, very fair seeming, but what, ere many months elapsed, were proved to be very false colours to the Catholics. The king, driven, as it were, from England, by the execrations of his people, and the cowardice of his own evil conscience, was coming to Ireland, heralded by vague and deceitful promises and assurances, put forward to conciliate the Catholic Irish, and ensure him, at any cost, a good reception. The leaders of the Catholics were not blinded either by the treacherous advances of their corporation enemies, or the deceits with which the way was sought to be smoothed for the king's approach. Still they were true to the policy of their lives, and resolved to interpose no check to the popular feeling, and to seem to entertain no doubt of the lavish assurances which were being heaped upon them. Even a direct breach of engagement on the part of the corporation authorities, in a manner seriously affecting Catholic feeling, was allowed but to create a momentary irritation.

There had been a kind of promise given, that the annual insult to the Catholics of bedecking King William's statue, in College-green, with orange ribbons, &c., should be omitted this year, to favour and forward the conciliatory movement which was said to be taking place. The promise was, however, broken, and the customary insults took place upon the orange anniversary of the 12th July.

The following report, given by a paper then adverse to Mr. O'Connell (*The Dublin Evening Post*) will show that he was not the most eager to allow this incident to have any lasting effect:—

CATHOLIC MEETING.

"There was yesterday a numerous and highly respectable meeting at D'Arcy's Corn Exchange Tavern.

"Shortly after three o'clock O'CONNOR DON was called to the chair.

"The report of the committee appointed to wait on the lord mayor on Wednesday, and his lordship's letter to Lord Fingal, being read—

MR. O'CONNELL addressed the meeting. He said that heretofore much had been done, and that the conduct of the Catholics had been not only pure, but unimpeachable. They had much to forget—they had been greatly injured by insult and taunts; yet, when an offer was made towards conciliation, they hailed it with shouts and gladness.

Mr. Wadden (said Mr. O'Connell), one of our Protestant fellow-Irishmen, our brother Christian, was the person who came and said the olive branch was offered, that it was held out, and the Orange should be kept back. Such was the promise, but

scarcely had the air in which that promise was uttered ceased to vibrate, nor was the ink dry upon the letter which conveyed it to Lord Fingal, when those insults were renewed, and the shouts of triumph resounded through Dame street. I do not (said Mr. O'Connell) condemn the lord mayor as being a party, but I blame him for not preserving the public peace. If he had put constables' staffs into our hands, he would have had a force sufficient to prevent midnight outrage. The lord mayor is the chief magistrate, and therefore, instead of going to wait upon the first magistrate of police, he could have commanded him to his Mansion-house, and could have required his co-operation, and that of every magistrate and officer of the establishment, as well as that of every citizen.

We have been told that an application was made to the castle, and from thence to a high legal character. I wonder (continued Mr. O'Connell), if we were to exhibit a wooden horse, with a wreath of green and shamrock about him, whether there would be all this going about; in considering ourselves insulted, the best way to do is not to leave anything in the power of our enemies. My object (said Mr. O'Connell) in shouting when the proposal was made, was not that I sought emancipation for any particular sect, but that I wished for a repeal of the Union; it has been said, that it never can be repealed; but that is a libel against God and man. The Union grew out of our dissensions, and it will cease within twelve months after they shall cease. Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to state, that Lord Fingal had intended being present, and taking the chair at that meeting, but was prevented by indisposition. He (Mr. O'Connell) therefore proposed, that a committee should be appointed to ascertain what the entire substance was of the communication which had been made to Lord Fingal, and that the meeting should adjourn to Monday.

"MR. MAHON in a few words seconded the motion.

"MR. SHEIL opposed the motion. For what were the committee to adjourn? Was it with the hope of uniting with the corporation? The late insult offered the Catholics in College-green was too broad and open to admit of such a thing. A promise was held out, a pledge was given; they were both violated, the Catholics had been insulted, and it would be weakness to procrastinate. The meeting should decide at once on what was proper to be done. Let the meeting act as individuals would do in ordinary cases—let them resent the affront at once, rather than revolve it in the mind for ever. The lord mayor had intimated to Lord Fingal at the last meeting, that unanimity was much to be desired, and hoped that its blessings, now attained, would extend to the future. These sentiments were hailed as favourable symptoms, but THE VERY NEXT DAY after their promulgation, the OBNOXIOUS STATUE in College-green was COVERED

WITH THE SYMBOLS OF FACTION AND OF BLOOD. Why, then, make further concessions to the corporation? Who will ensure us that FURTHER INSULT WILL NOT BE OFFERED? The SMALLEST ordinary PRECAUTION would have PREVENTED the decoration of the statue or removed it. For what were the citizens paying such enormous taxes for the police establishment, but that the peace of the city might be kept? For his own part he thought it better to speak out at once, and let the matter be decided. Mr. Shiel concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

“RESOLVED—That animated as we are by the deepest sense of gratitude and joy at the anticipated visit of our gracious sovereign to this country, and yielding to no class of the community in fidelity and attachment to his royal person, we had received with the utmost cordiality the expression of a wish of the lord mayor and corporation of the city of Dublin, that we should co-operate with them in the celebration of so fortunate an event, and that we entertained a hope that the assurance which was given that all offensive symbols of faction should be laid aside, would not have been violated upon an occasion when all religious differences should be merged in one united feeling of devotion to his majesty.

“RESOLVED—That after so distinct an engagement, that all party and offensive ceremonies should be discountenanced, the investing of the statue in College green, in the colours heretofore employed for the purpose of insult, is a breach of that undertaking which, while it provokes political passions into a violation of the public peace, is more peculiarly calculated at this moment to interrupt the harmony to which we were earnestly anxious to lend our co-operation.”

“MR. JAMES FARRELL said he had called on the lord mayor; that his lordship declared the decoration of the statue was entirely contrary to his wishes, and that in consequence of these not being complied with he had since WITHDRAWN HIMSELF ALTOGETHER FROM THE ORANGE SOCIETY.

“MR. LUKE PLUNKET here said, that Alderman Darley had yesterday informed him, that the lord mayor had advanced twenty guineas towards the decorations for the statue, and that there were upwards of 8000 combined Orangemen in Dublin.

“MR. MACDONNELL approved of the resolutions of Mr. Shiel so far as they went. He thought it necessary, however, to go a step farther, and propose that a public dinner take place on the 23rd instant, to which all liberal Protestant and Catholic gentlemen be invited, and that this dinner be wholly unconnected and distinct from that of the Dublin corporation, at Morrisson’s.

“MR. COSTELLOE said, that he was present both at the dressing and undressing of the statue. The mob on the first occasion, was sober and well-dressed, consisting, for the most part, of shopkeepers. [A gentleman observed, that a Mr. Sutter, and a Mr. Pim, a flour merchant, were amongst the mob, assisting in the operations. It was also said, that Alderman Darley and Sheriff Brady passed during the proceedings, and that there was a groan ‘for Popish Grant.’] On the second occasion, Mr. Costelloe said, the mob was, indeed, most ragged and most infuriated. They were well armed, and many were drunk. There were in the crowd several of the 12th Lancers, and he saw these distinctly draw their swords brandish them in the air, and vociferate ‘down with the Papists,’ ‘to hell with the Pope,’ ‘to hell with Popish defenders,’ ‘the Pope in a pillory in hell, and the devil pelting O’Connell at him,’ ‘to hell with O’Gorman,’ &c.

MR. MACARTHY said he had seen the farce of dressing the statue, and the yells of the ruffians were music to his ears, as he hoped their being drunk would bring others to their senses. He clearly saw that the trick intended by getting the Catholics and the Orangemen to appear cordial together, was to show the king that all those reports which have gone abroad concerning this country are ill-founded; and when the king would see O’Connell (the agitator) and Abraham

Bradley King cordial together, he would conclude that it must be unnecessary for Mr. Plunket to be labouring for the repeal of laws which are not injurious.

"MR. HOWLEY was happy to perceive, that his learned friend had yielded to the manly feelings of the meeting, in withdrawing his intention to move an adjournment; either the lord mayor had or had not the power to prevent the outrage; if he had, why did he not? I saw, continued Mr. Howley, a novel parade about the damned idol of an expiring party; several ruffians armed with pistols, surrounded it, as if to tempt the people of this metropolis to acts of violence. When the olive branch is held out to us, if we rush forward to catch the hand that offers it, and are afterwards deceived, who are to blame—the Catholics or those who deceive them?"

"MR. O'CONNELL said he could not bring himself to believe that they could not as well decide after due deliberation. He believed Mr. L. Plunket as to the conversation about the robes; but he (Mr. O'Connell) had it from good authority, that the lord mayor had forbidden the robemaker to give out the articles. Another consideration, and what ought to go in extenuation of the lord mayor's conduct was, that he might possibly have no confidence in the military when called out, for numbers of the 12th Lancers were seen to join the mob in their operations on Thursday last.

"MR. SHIEL's resolution was then put and carried.

"A resolution for a *separate dinner* was afterwards moved by MR. MACDONNELL, in which the day was left blank.

"MR. HOWLEY moved, as an amendment, that the words of the resolution be, that a committee be appointed to consider and report on the best mode of celebrating his majesty's coronation.

"The resolution, as amended, was unanimously agreed to, and Mr. O'Brien having been voted into the chair, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to O'Conor Don, and the meeting adjourned to Monday next."

CATHOLIC MEETING.

"Yesterday there was an adjourned meeting of Catholic gentlemen at D'Arcy's great rooms, Corn Exchange Tavern.

"At half-past three o'clock the EARL OF FINGAL was called to the chair.

"MR. FINN shortly addressed the chair. He thought the late outrage on the public feeling laid the foundation for the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland to join in a petition for the putting down an illegal association. He (Mr. Finn) might well call the Orange associations illegal, when they had been termed so by the bench, and before the parliament of the United Kingdom. He believed the lord mayor was perfectly sincere in his wish for the conciliation. (Hear, hear.) He had heard that an address to the lord lieutenant would be proposed; his opinion, however, was, that nothing should be done in that respect. There was a prospect of better times; unfortunately, the Catholics and the corporation could not meet at the present moment. The idea of dining with the lord mayor, he conceived, was totally abandoned. (Cries of 'yes, yes.')

"MR. SHIEL said, that under the peculiar circumstances in which the Roman Catholics stood, after the facts which had been disclosed relative to the decoration of the statue in College green, which had been disclaimed and censured by

the lord mayor and magistrates of the city—after the violation of the assurance which had been given by the municipal authorities, that all symbols of party should be discontinued, it was matter for the serious consideration of the meeting, whether measures should not be adopted for the purpose not only of preventing the recurrence of the evil, but in order to put a stop to that system of factious domination from which so much public detriment had already flowed. He was not inclined to lay any blame to the lord mayor or to the magistrates of Dublin; on the contrary, he believed that this insult had been offered, not only without their approbation, but against their express desire. It had originated from the ferocious spirit of a set of men, leagued by illegal bonds in a barbarous and truculent affiliation. He had a confidence in the good intentions of government at this auspicious moment, and he felt convinced that an appeal for protection and redress would not be addressed to them in vain. [Here Mr. Shiel read an address to the lord lieutenant.]

“**LORD FINGAL** would merely observe, that the impression upon his mind was, that the lord mayor had been quite sincere in his original offer of conciliation; and the noble earl still continued to hold the same opinion, notwithstanding the unfortunate and discreditable transactions of the 12th of July.

“**MR. O’CONNOR DON** stated that he had been inimical to any resolution on that insult; but on consideration, he thought it could not do an injury and he felt it was necessary to come to some resolution on the subject.

“**MR. O’CONNELL** could not concur in the opinion that the address on the subject of the late insult was necessary. There were many parts of that address which might be contradicted as to facts, and the language was not of that nature that would tend to allay the dissensions that had too long subsisted amongst them. The firing round the statue of King William was practised by the Volunteers of Ireland, a body of men to whom they might look back with pride.

“**THE EARL OF FINGAL** here said, that he recollected when Catholics and Protestants were in the habit of firing round the statue which had been erected at the very spot where the battle of the Boyne was fought, and that when they afterwards retired together, to celebrate the day, one of their toasts was the Pope’s health.

MR. O’CONNELL resumed.—He should not speak of cups and daggers, although there were many bitter recollections that he might indulge in, were he so inclined; but, instead of looking back for causes of disunion, he preferred looking forward for reasons for conciliation. We forgave insult—(no, no)—I speak not of the present insult; but, I repeat it, we forgave insult when we accepted offers of conciliation. By adopting (said Mr. O’Connell) an address on that outrage, we lose the vantage ground on which we are placed. They say they do everything in their power to conciliate, and we do nothing; our reply to them is—you, who have been wrong, atone for it. Although I may be called an “unhappy man,” yet I still declare that I hailed with joy, and still hail with joy, the day on which the lord mayor of Dublin (the deputy grand-master of Orangemen) made a **PEACE OFFERING** to the Catholics of Ireland.

He confessed, notwithstanding the ridicule to which the admis-

sion might expose him, that he was weak enough to wish to see those distinctions, which had been the curse of his country, sunk in the single name of IRISHMAN ; and he was credulous enough to think that "a consummation so devoutly to be wished" was by no means impossible. Indeed, he still thought a most important advance had been made by the lord mayor ; and he still believed his lordship to have been perfectly sincere.

The address proposed went, by implication, to charge the government with connivance. Mr. Shiel has said that the Orange oaths are illegal ; but what is Mr. Shiel's remedy ?—an address to the Castle. Oh ! by all means present an address to the Castle, and you will find ample redress. The statue will never be dressed again, and you will never be insulted in future. You may be told also, "that the courts of law are open to you ;" and, should you look for redress there, perhaps you may get the opinion of the attorney-general as to the illegality of Orange associations ; nor need you be much surprised if, like some of the government prints, he should at the same time speak of their "immense loyalty !" In my humble judgment, my lord, there is but one hope for Ireland—that hope is unanimity ; we owe all our misfortunes to dissension.

Neither our space nor subject will allow of any particular notice of the royal visit of 1821⁹ and its attendant circumstances. The deceit as to the king's intentions and disposition towards his Catholic subjects, we have before alluded to ; as also the fact that of the leading Catholics, few were really caught by it, although willing to let it be supposed successful. But there is no doubt at all that the reiteration, while here, of the king's promises and fair assurances had, at least, the effect of causing them to be generally believed ; and we may the less wonder at it when it is ascertained from a passage in the memoirs of Lord Eldon, from the pen of Horace Twiss, that the king at one moment *half believed himself that he was sincere*, to the great fright of Lord Eldon and his associates, who thereupon hastened the measures for his departure. On the day of his embarkation, Mr. O'Connell, at the head of a Catholic deputation, presented him with a crown of laurel, which was received with sufficient graciousness. A few days afterwards, came a letter from Lord Sidmouth, expressing, in the king's name, his gratification at all that had occurred during his visit to Ireland—his anxiety to promote her interests, and internal peace among her people ; and his desire that all parties would join him in his endeavours for that purpose.

The orange party—who had signalized themselves by not refraining from their shibboleth, of "*The Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory*," even at the corporation dinner to the king (though, of course, not proposed till after he had left the room)—laughed in their sleeves at this letter. The Catholics took it in earnest, and set about preparing to meet it in what they deemed a corresponding spirit, having summoned meetings and prepared the outlines of an organization for the purpose, which was intended to include men of every class and shade of opinion. But the illusion about conciliation was soon over, the corporation having lost no time in dispelling it, by renewing their old orange orgies within one month after the king's departure.

THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY.

In the beginning of the following year, 1822, the Marquis of Wellesley was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and his coming hailed with very general satisfaction—both as he was the first Irishman for centuries appointed to the office, and because of his personal character.

A Catholic meeting was held on the 7th of January, 1822, at D'Arcy's (*Corn Exchange Rooms*), to consider of an address to be presented to his lordship—

The Earl of Fingal in the chair.

After the requisition, &c., had been read, and the object of the meeting stated by the noble chairman, who expressed his great pleasure and gratification at having been called upon to preside over such a meeting, on so very pleasing an occasion, Mr. O'Connell, who was loudly cheered, proceeded to open the business of the day

He commenced by observing that he was sure that all present coincided with their noble chairman in what had fallen from him respecting the object for which the present meeting was convened—which it was scarcely necessary for him to repeat, was the gratifying one of addressing an Irish Viceroy.

That the most cordial unanimity would prevail in the discharge of so pleasing a duty, he felt convinced. The Marquis of Wellesley was an Irishman, and was always found among the most distinguished of Irishmen in advancing her interest and endeavouring to ameliorate her condition. His eloquence, which was of the most classical and impressive character, was always most readily exercised by him on every question that regarded the welfare of his native country; and on no question with more impressiveness, energy, and effect, than on that which related to the emancipation of his Catholic countrymen; and whenever the day of their restoration to the privileges of the constitution should arrive, they must gratefully remember that the influence of his example, and the splendour of his talents, have mainly contributed to the attainment of that desirable object. (Applause.)

At an earlier period, when the manifestations of favour towards the Catholic people were less strong and frequent than they are at present—at the interesting and eventful period of 1782, when the spirit of liberty was abroad, yet it was not extended generally to the Roman Catholics; and the Marquis of Wellesley was the first person to raise a volunteer corps, in which a principle of exclusion to persons professing that creed was not acted upon, countenanced, and cherished. (Much applause.) After such repeated proofs of a kindly feeling towards us, it was impossible not to feel a lively sense of gratitude towards him; and feeling it, it would be unpardonable not to express it.

Such a man would surely not be seen attending festivals,

encouraging by his presence toasts that were offensive to any portion of his Majesty's subjects ; and he (Mr. O'Connell) felt satisfied that no sentiment would be pledged at any public dinner which the Marquis of Wellesley would please to honour by his presence, alluding to the unfortunate dissensions of this country. Since the arrival of the noble marquis in this country, important events had taken place, which presented renewed and augmented claims to their gratitude. Mr. Plunket, the eloquent and powerful advocate of their civil rights *at least*, was at that moment, if not actually, certainly *potentially*, the first officer of the law in Ireland. (This announcement was received with loud acclamations.) This was an appointment at which they had much reason to rejoice, not only because their friend had been advanced, but also because, by that appointment, Mr. Saurin *ceased to be chief governor of Ireland*.

Another high legal functionary, he had strong reason to believe, was at that moment also advanced to the first seat on the bench of justice. It may, perhaps, be indelicate to speak at present of this promotion ; but he was sure there was no man in the country who would not be proud to see the Solicitor-General (Bushe) dignify and grace the highest station in the department of the law. It did happen that the Solicitor-General was, on some occasions, opposed to individuals of the Catholic body ; but whilst he faithfully and efficiently discharged his duty as an officer of the crown, he never leagued with any person, or any party, in a system and determination to oppress his Roman Catholic countrymen. In his conduct on such occasions, there was always found united the talents of the orator and the feelings of the gentleman. He never left a sting of angry sentiment behind, to aggravate and embitter the insults that others heap upon them ; and it had been even said, in the House of Commons, by the official organ of government, that "if the Catholics were to be persecuted, he was not the man to do so."

Mr. O'Connell went over a variety of other topics, pointedly marking the many claims which the Marquis Wellesley had upon the gratitude of the Catholics of Ireland. In conclusion, he said he could not regard him otherwise than as a representative, not only of the person, but also of the kindly disposition of our beloved Sovereign ; and therefore it was their duty, as well as their pleasure, to testify their respect towards him in the most emphatic manner.

Mr. Shiel seconded the address, as proposed by Mr. O'Connell. The learned gentleman who preceded him had so eloquently gone over the topics which naturally presented them-

selves, that it was altogether unnecessary to recapitulate them. There was no sentiment in which he more cordially concurred than in regarding the noble marquis's assumption of the reins of government as a special gift of his majesty, and it was certain he could not make a more splendid donation. Advantages of considerable importance had already attended the commencement of his administration, and he thought that the country might sanguinely look forward to additional benefits from the immediate connexion of the Marquis Wellesley with this country.

"After some desultory discussion on the topics of the address, an address submitted by Mr. Shiel was finally adopted.

"The address is to be presented this day, at the levee, to his excellency.

"It was then proposed by Mr. O'Connell, and seconded by Mr. Hugh O'Conor, that in order to promote the principle of conciliation enjoined by our sovereign, there should be a dinner of Protestant and Catholic gentlemen, to celebrate his majesty's accession to the throne, at D'Arcy's Corn-Exchange Tavern, on January 29th, 1822.

The following Catholic gentlemen were appointed stewards:—Mr. O'Connell, Mr. W. Murphy, Mr. Hugh O'Conor, Mr. Thos. M'Donnell, Mr. Val. O'Conor, Mr. Joseph Plunkett, Mr. Wolfe, Mr. R. Therry, Mr. Fitzsimons, Mr. J. D. Lynch. A resolution was added expressive of a desire that an equal number of Protestant gentlemen should co-operate with the above gentlemen in making preparations and arranging for the intended dinner.

"The following was the address:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY—We, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, impressed with a conviction, common to all classes of the community, that the appointment of your Excellency to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, will be productive of the most beneficial national results; and animated by the liveliest sense of the obligations which you have already conferred upon us, offer you our cordial congratulations upon your arrival, as the representative of our Sovereign, in your native land.

"If anything could have increased the gratitude and veneration which we feel for a monarch, of whose enlightened views and beneficent intentions towards this country we have had so many striking proofs, these sentiments would derive new strength from his having delegated as his representative amongst us, a statesman to whose genius the empire is so largely indebted for its security and glory, and whose fame we have long cherished as a portion of our national renown. We recognize in the nomination of your Excellency, an additional instance of his Majesty's peculiar solicitude for our welfare. It is impossible not to feel, that in the selection of your Excellency, to fill the highest office in the government of this country, his Majesty was not more guided in his choice by a desire that the dignity of the throne should be adequately represented, than by a benevolent anxiety that, through your impartiality and wisdom, his most gracious disposition should be carried into effect.

"It is with extreme regret we have witnessed, in a few counties, a recurrence of those local outrages, which at different times have

manifested themselves in this country. We trust that it is unnecessary to assure your Excellency that we shall be always ready, both individually and collectively, to co-operate with government in the maintenance of the law, and from your well-known firmness and moderation, we anticipate the speedy re-establishment of order in every part of Ireland."

This address was most graciously received by his excellency. It is not usual to return answers to addresses presented at levees.

STATUE TO MR. GRATTAN.

A movement was made about this time to get up a "conciliation" dinner, to celebrate the anniversary of the king's accession; but after several preparatory meetings had been held, the intention was abandoned, in consequence of another open display of orangeism at a corporation dinner.

At a meeting for erecting a statue to Mr. Grattan, held January 22, 1822, at the Royal Exchange, Mr. O'Connell took a prominent part, as he did in originating the idea, subsequently so creditably carried into execution.

The fourth resolution was moved by Mr O'Connell.

MR. O'CONNELL said that although Mr. Grattan belonged particularly to Dublin, the subscription should not be confined to any particular part of this country, for he belonged in truth to the entire nation. He gained independence for Ireland, and if she has since lost that independence, she should cherish his memory who gained it for her. He asserted her rights, he procured for her a legislative representation, and she was then a kingdom. The King of Ireland was then George the Third. As the patriot had himself said, in speaking of his country, 'he had watched by her cradle, he had followed her hearse.' But if a period should arrive, as in Greece, where the plain of Marathon has been immortalized, when we might erect a temple to perpetuate the memory of Ireland, the spirit of Grattan should hover round it, and his name would be the first sound of the resurrection of his country. An unfortunate spirit, however, pervades the land, which tends only to bring ignominy upon the country. No benefit can possibly be produced but by mutual good feeling. Perhaps it would not be right to indulge in what might or what might not have been the fate of the country under other circumstances. In saying this much, he had but just thrown out the feelings of his heart over the grave of Grattan.

This resolution was seconded by Mr. William Murphy. It passed unanimously.

In the same month Mr. O'Connell put forth the following address:—

“TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

“ ‘Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.’

“FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—You can never obtain your liberty without an exertion on your own part. I do not mean to undervalue the efforts of our friends, nor do I underrate the advantages we possess in having one of the great law offices filled by an advocate of Emancipation in the place of its very bitterest enemy. I am also sensible of the benefit we derive from having the executive government of this unfortunate country intrusted to an illustrious supporter of religious liberty.

“These are great advantages. They serve to cheer us amidst that sickness of the heart which arises from hope deferred; and we ought, indeed, to be sick to the heart at the repeated disappointment of our fairest hopes; to the tantalizing and bitter repetition of expectations raised only to be blasted, and prospects of success opened only to close upon us in tenfold darkness. Alas! perhaps the present gleam only shines upon us to make the coldness of future neglect be felt with increased chillness. However, let the result of recent events be what it will, we owe it to ourselves, to our country, and to our religion, to make one effort more to escape from our present unjust degradation.

“In the history of mankind there never was anything more unjust than our servitude. It began by a gross and shameless violation of a solemn treaty. It was increased in the contemptuous security of a faction, strong in British support, and in the moral and physical imbecility of an unarmed and divided people. And now that all the pretences have passed away by which this iniquity might have been palliated, we still continue an oppressed and inferior class in our native soil, aliens and outcasts in the land of our fathers; and why, gracious God! why? Because some old women, or men more silly still, are pleased to draw out the absurd opinion, that an act of public justice would not ‘produce any public good,’ and that the abolition of bigotry would ‘lead to unhappy consequences!’

“If such absurdities are any longer to sway the British councils, then, indeed, rational men may well prophesy approaching confusion. With Ireland convulsed by desperate poverty; with England reeling beneath an overwhelming taxation; with Europe

scarcely hiding the half-slumbering flame of revolt, presenting at best but the image of a sleeping volcano—in such a state of affairs there is but one mode of salvation for the British empire, and that is, to enlist under the banners of the throne of social order, and of the constitution, all classes and descriptions of men, whatever may be their colour or their creed, and by giving them ALL one equal interest to preserve and to maintain all that is valuable and good in the purest parts of the noble and long-tried British institutions. Those who wish to be safe must continue to fling from power the bigots and the dotards of society, and must, in the management of public affairs, consult the genius of common sense, and invoke the spirit of Christian charity.

“What course should the Catholics of Ireland pursue under the present circumstances? This is the question which you, my countrymen, have to resolve. It is upon this question that I beg to offer you my humble but honest advice. I do not think I can err in telling you, that the period is arrived when you must make another effort to obtain your constitutional liberty. Indeed, this is a matter upon which I fancy we are all agreed, and the only doubt, as well as the only difficulty, arises from an apprehension lest, in looking for the greatest of all human blessings, civil liberty, we should injure that which is of greater importance than anything that men bestow—the unsullied and ancient religion of Ireland.

“Early in the last year, very many of the Catholics agreed with me in thinking that we ought not again to petition the British parliament, until that body was in a state more likely to sympathize with the wants and wishes of the people. But events have occurred in the last twelve months which have made me, in common with others, change that opinion, and which, whilst we retain all our former principles, induce us to make one exertion more to obtain from the British parliament that liberty which we know to be our right, but which we are ready to receive with all the affectionate gratitude due to the most gratuitous boon.

“The events which should alter our resolution, and induce us once more to petition parliament in its present state, are these:—First, we have seen, in the last year, a bill for the first time actually pass the House of Commons, which bill (without for the present noticing its ecclesiastical provisions) would have procured for us everything in point of civil rights which we looked for, or desired. Secondly—That bill was read once in the House of Lords, and was ultimately rejected by a majority,

which could not be considered, under all the circumstances, as very discouraging to our hopes. Thirdly—The Sovereign who was supposed by our enemies to be hostile to our claims, is now believed to be neutral, and is probably favourable. Fourthly—The King's visit to Ireland has exhibited both the monarch and the people in new and favourable lights. The King must have seen that his Catholic subjects, although excluded and degraded in their native land, were as ready to display their unbought allegiance as the most favoured and caressed of the ascendant party. And the people, to whom the King has plainly been much misrepresented, have seen with delight the delicacy, the *tact*, the taste, and the good feeling which marked the entire personal conduct of the King, from the moment he threw himself, with paternal confidence, and without a single soldier, into their arms, to the period when, with an eye suffused with sensibility, and a voice rendered tremulous by emotion, he spoke his parting adieu.

“Fifthly—The ministerial letter which closed the King's visit, naturally seems to be the harbinger of better feelings and better days. It has already done much. It has introduced a new tone and temper into society. It has mitigated somewhat of the natural impertinence of long-abused power. It has softened and almost extinguished the bitterness which flowed from public contention into private life ; and men have met and mingled and cemented friendships who heretofore scowled at each other in secret hostility, or contended with one another in open and acrimonious defiance.

“On the part of the Catholics, the injunction of that letter has been most cheerfully and readily obeyed. They have not deviated from it in the slightest degree. We may say it, their conduct has been quite exemplary, and they have afforded a strong and striking earnest of what their Protestant brethren may expect from the concession of civil rights. As we have shown such readiness to be reconciled, and to bury in oblivion every injury—and, what is more, every insult—and as we have shown this readiness merely for a few good words, and at the expense of a little civility, have we not a right to credit for the complete and perfect establishment of a private and public cordiality, if a solid and substantial act of justice be done us? Will any man believe that when we have been so thankful for a mere courtesy, we should hesitate to cement a lasting attachment in return for the great boon of civil liberty. If we have been grateful for mere civility, what shall we be for substantial favours? Yes, every candid man will admit, that equalization of civil rights

would extinguish for ever religious dissension in Ireland, and the wisdom of the king is manifest in the results of his visit and of his paternal advice.

"Under these circumstances, surely the Catholics ought once more to petition parliament. We have reason to expect Emancipation. Conciliation cannot last if the causes of irritation and resentment are to be perpetuated. The king's letter would have been a mockery, and a cruel mockery, if it were not intended to follow it up by removing the sources of heats, jealousies, and animosities. We, therefore, have a right to expect Emancipation. The king's letter has prepared all parties for it. It would not be any victory or triumph on our part over our Protestant countrymen. It would now be the combined triumph of both Protestants and Catholics over bad passions, bad feelings, reciprocal animosities, and perpetual disquietude.

"Let us, then, my fellow-countrymen, petition once more. We ought now to succeed. But, should we now be defeated, who is it will presume to hope during the present system of parliamentary representation? If we are now defeated, we must patiently abide the 'great march of events,' and wish for that great tide of National Reform, which, we are told, is, though repulsed for a moment, gaining ground with every breaker.

"In these views, I believe, the Catholics are very generally agreed; but there is one subject likely to engross much of our attention, in the event of a bill for our relief being again introduced. I mean the subject of what, in parliament, has been called 'securities,' but what we have generally denominated 'the veto.'

"This is a subject which, I candidly acknowledge, fills my mind with the most serious alarm. Whilst I thought that the people were unanimous on the subject, and the clergy but little divided, I entertained no fears. But feeling it my duty to speak with perfect candour, I am bound to say that the conduct of the Catholics of Dublin, while the last bill was in discussion, strikes me to be excessively discreditable to them. I cannot express the anguish it gives me to make this accusation, because of its undoubted truth. If the matters were doubtful, I should refrain from reproach; but, alas, it must be told, that there was either an apathy or an inconsistency in the conduct of the Catholics of Dublin upon this important topic, which does them no credit, either as men or as Christians, and which must fill every honest Catholic, upon reflection, with astonishment and dismay.

"I sustain my accusation thus; the word veto means a power

vested in the servants of the crown, either by direct nomination, or by an unlimited right of exclusion, to appoint Catholic bishops in Ireland. The latter is its more strict meaning.

“The propriety of granting this power to the crown has been in agitation since the year 1805. It has been sought for sometimes with great anxiety, and at other times with more indifference, by many of those who supported, and by almost all those who opposed our claims. On the other hand, the Catholic people have unanimously, loudly, and warmly reprobated it. They have repeatedly expressed, even in terms of execration, their disapprobation of any barter of religious discipline for civil advantages. The language of our bishops was not less emphatic. They said that this power ‘must not only essentially injure, but may eventually subvert the Catholic religion in Ireland.’ The language, also, of the resolutions adopted at the aggregate meetings, was not only strong but violent. These meetings have been ridiculed, for taking the style of meetings of the Catholics of Ireland; but at all events, they were meetings of the Catholics of Dublin, and thus beyond all doubt, the Catholics of Dublin had most solemnly and repeatedly pledged themselves to oppose any vetoistical measures.

“Matters were thus circumstanced, when last year’s bill was introduced into the House. The ecclesiastical enactments in that bill gave the most direct and undisguised veto to the crown. There was no concealment—there was no mitigation. No priest could be a dean or bishop in Ireland, until his name had been transmitted to the secretary at the Castle; nor if that secretary expressed his disapprobation of him. Such disapprobation was made final and conclusive. There was to be no trial, no investigation; in short, it was the veto in terms, and in a more simple, powerful, and offensive form than had ever been imagined at any former period.

“Well, what was the conduct of the Catholics of Dublin at that crisis? We have seen how deeply pledged they were against the veto. With regard to the clergy, I shall say nothing; I am not sufficiently master of the details of their meeting; and of that meeting I think it most respectful and safe to be silent; but I acknowledge that a sigh bursts from my bosom when I recollect the approbation they published of some of the oaths in the ecclesiastical bill.

“But I return to the conduct of the laity. We have, I repeat it, seen how deeply they were pledged against the veto. What was their conduct? I know some very worthy men who are

angry if it is insinuated that they are not strong anti-vetoists, but I ask these gentlemen what was their conduct at that time? Did they meet to instruct Mr. Plunket and the parliament of their sentiments? Did they exclaim against this tremendous innovation on Catholic discipline expressly contained in the ecclesiastical clauses? No; they were silent—they were acquiescent. If they had changed their minds, they ought to have met and manfully stated that change. If they had not changed their minds was not their acquiescence, inexcusable, and in every point of view criminal?

“There was, it is true, one meeting: a meeting got together by some persons who had manliness enough not to put their names to the advertisement; a meeting brought together with such perfect fair play and universal notice, that the anonymous advertisement calling it actually appeared in the morning, and the meeting itself took place early in the afternoon of the same day!

“This anonymous, and I must say, indecent proceeding, was quite an anomaly in Catholic affairs. The excuse was that time pressed, and that it was necessary to have their resolutions in London on the day then fixed for the second reading of the bill in the House of Lords. This flimsy excuse is valuable, because it shows the real intentions of those who arranged that meeting.

“The resolutions which passed at such meeting, were not, it is said, approbatory of the veto, and I acknowledge that it was not approved of in express terms. The want of such express terms was used to delude some honest and well-meaning persons to sanction that meeting. But was not its very silence a direct approbation. Was it not, at least, a plain and distinct acquiescence in the fatal measure of the veto. Indeed the vetoists boasted of this meeting, with justice, as their first triumph; and the very excuse for its rapid formation proved that its promoters knew that its vote would convey something more intelligible to the House of Lords than mere barren praise of the individuals who advocated the bill in parliament. It was accordingly received as an approval of the bill in its worse shape, by all the peers to whom the resolutions were transmitted. The thing could not be misunderstood by any indifferent person.

“Thus, by dexterity, and a species of side-wind, the Catholics of Dublin are at this moment committed to an approval of that measure, which they often so unanimously and so loudly condemned; and that which I still do fondly believe no man could have audacity enough openly to propose, has been effected by

management and trick, which I must say deserve anything but applause.

“Catholic fellow-countrymen, excuse me for this plain speaking. I suppress all feelings of anger towards the persons engaged in the machinery of that meeting. I will not name one of them—and I would consent to bury the recollection of that transaction in perpetual oblivion : but that, alas ! it may, and, I think, must, in some degree, influence the great question which must arise upon the preservation of the independence and purity of the Catholic Church in Ireland, both of which I am, in my conscience, convinced, would be lost if the bill of last year had passed into a law.

“With these impressions, I thought it my duty, before the parliament could again meet, to make an effort to obviate the mischief of a vetoistical bill. The grounds upon which a veto has been required were stated to be apprehensions, that as the nomination of our bishops rested with the Pope, who is, of necessity, a foreigner, he might, either by mistake, or at the instance of foreign, and perhaps of hostile powers, appoint to Catholic sees in Ireland persons inimical to the king or constitution. It must be admitted that there is something theoretically plausible, if not forcible, in this objection. It is one which may strike and convince a fair and candid man ; especially if he was not minutely acquainted with the Catholic priesthood of Ireland. Those who know that priesthood best entertain no fear on the subject.

“But as this argument existed ; as these fears prevailed, or were said to prevail in parliament, it was right to meet them. We answered the objection, by referring to the laws against sedition and treason, which were sufficient to coerce our bishops, as well as our laity. We appealed to the oaths of allegiance which our bishops most cheerfully took ; and, finally, we appealed to the experience of a century of unblemished loyalty on the part of our clergy, although it was a century of degradation, insult, contumely, and even of persecution ; we asked with confidence, were they not loyal, even when you persecuted them ? Is it in human nature that they should be less so if they have your protection and countenance ?

“I must say that if we were treated with the deference and respect we deserve, the answers to these two questions would have decided the subject. But the misfortune is that even our friends are apt to treat us with something of a contemptuous superiority which can be justified only by the miserable jealousies

and dissensions which prevail amongst ourselves. Passing this over, I have only to add that the objection continued, notwithstanding our reply ; and it has become a kind of fixed principle with some of our advocates, that emancipation must be accompanied with some securities against foreign influence in the appointment of our bishops.

“ It struck my mind that some plan might be devised, which, whilst it left the Catholic Church of Ireland free from, and uncontaminated by, courtly control, might at the same time totally destroy the force of an argument in favour of the veto, to be derived from the apprehension of foreign influence ; with this view, I consulted some of the Catholic clergy, and as the result, I drew up the plan which will be found marked No. 1, and at the end of the letter.

“ I then waited on Mr. Plunket, to submit to him my ideas on this subject. He received me with great kindness, and with the most perfect attention. He discoursed with me the matter, calmly and coolly, with a good feeling and of course with good sense, as a statesman, and friend to religious liberty. I cannot speak too highly of the temper and disposition which Mr. Plunket evinced at all the interviews which I had with him. He has convinced me that he is desirous of carrying our emancipation, making as little sacrifices to English prejudices as he possibly can. I wish to be the more distinct in expressing this opinion of Mr. Plunket's candour, that it may serve as a refutation of the sentiments which I formerly entertained and published on this topic.

“ A communication has been opened between Mr. Plunket and the Catholic bishops. He is ready, I believe, to receive their sentiments with deference ; and, I am sure, he will respect their conscientious scruples, on the details of the ecclesiastical clauses in a future emancipation bill. I am also warranted in saying that Mr. Plunket must be convinced that there is every disposition on the part of the Catholics, clergy as well as laity, to seek for emancipation in the most conciliatory manner ; to soften, and, if possible, to subdue every prejudice ; and to resist only such measures as may either injure, or have a tendency to injure, their religion. He perceives that the objections to ‘ the veto ’ have nothing of faction or bigotry in them—that they are purely conscientious—and, that it would be impossible to frame any statute, calculated to produce tranquillity in Ireland, if that measure were accompanied by ‘ the veto.’

“ The progress which has been made in the discussion is just

this: '*First, the unlimited negative is found to be quite impracticable, and given up, and a limited and defined right of rejection is alone sought for.*' Whether or not it can be conceded, is another question—no more is at present required. This will be more distinctly seen by a reference to the subjoined paper, marked No. 2, which contains, in Mr. Plunket's own language, the only objections he made to my plan, No. 1. I have the original in Mr. Plunket's own hand-writing. Secondly, the nature and precise extent of such limited power of rejection, as well as the question of *whether it can be practicable at all, without a violation of Catholic principles*, are still in discussion; and that discussion has assumed a shape which induces me to hope for a favourable result. Thirdly, Mr. Plunket has readily consented to introduce a provision into the new Emancipation Bill, in order to secure the property in Catholic chapels and chapel houses; and *for the establishment of Catholic charities* to the same extent to which the chapels and charities of the various classes of dissenters in England are now protected by law.

"He has been good enough to allow me to suggest the form in which a clause to the above effect should be submitted to the House of Commons. This is an object of great importance. Fourthly, the exemplary conduct of the Catholic clergy, without any exception whatsoever, in all the disturbed districts—their extreme utility in checking and mitigating, where they could not possibly control, the infatuated spirit of domestic insurrection, are recognized and admitted. I believe it is distinctly felt, that the Catholic clergy could not possibly render the eminent services they now do to the government, if they were to lose any part of their influence over the people; and which influence vetoistical arrangements would have a direct tendency to weaken, if not totally to extinguish; if the clergy were selected by the state, they would lose all their political influence; so that in point of fact, it is, I believe, felt and understood, that the government by *possessing a vetoistical power, would be likely to lose an efficient control over the people*; while they would gain nothing that could compensate them for the *increased discontent* which the veto would certainly excite. † I fear it would, at this moment, produce effects of a most disastrous character.

"Under those circumstances, it is for the Catholics of Ireland to consider whether they ought not immediately petition. In my humble opinion they ought; and they ought also to consider whether some combined consultation may not take place between the clergy of all classes and the laity, to ascertain what may be

done in the shape of domestic nomination to satisfy English prejudices, and do away all possible apprehension of foreign influence amongst our clergy.

“It is time that this question was set at rest. It is time that, if we can make with perfect safety any concession to smooth the road to Emancipation, we should do so—not at the dictates of chance or passion, but as the solemn result of consultation and deliberate arrangement. If, on the other hand, it shall appear that no fragment of that sacred edifice, which our ancestors have left us as a most precious inheritance, can be touched with safety, why then, let us one and all resolve, in the name of God! not to accept of any civil rights at the expense of any danger whatsoever to our religion. While matters remain in their present state, great danger arises, lest by a sudden and ill-arranged relief bill, Emancipation may take place in a manner calculated to disgust everybody and please no one. It would be unfortunate, indeed, that a bill intended to produce permanent tranquillity should be an immediate provocative of fresh and new discontent, and it would be miserable policy to superinduce the frenzy of a religious contest upon the cruel policy of the servile war which now rages in so many of our districts.

“There seems to me but one way to prevent much mischief, but one way to arrange rationally the course fit to be pursued. It consists in making some such selection of individuals as that which constituted the Catholic Board; it might, and I think ought, to be limited to this particular purpose. I do not suggest the establishment of such a Board as may afford our enemies an occasion of accusing us of forming a debating club. But there is a great national question pressing itself directly upon our attention. There may, possibly, be amongst us men who would barter some of *their religion* (or, perhaps, I should say, some of *our religion*) for a chance of civil rights. If there be any such, they are the most dangerous of our enemies. Whether there be or not, it is certain that our question cannot come before parliament, without involving discussions and clauses upon the subject of ‘securities.’ It would be idle to expect that it should not be so; and it would be criminal not to be prepared for such discussion and for such clauses. If a Catholic Board were formed, there would be no danger of the present attorney-general’s distorting the Convention Act to prevent their meeting. There is also no danger of the introduction of extraneous or irritating topics. No more publicity would be necessary for their proceedings than just enough to prevent their acting in contra-

diction to the public judgment or public feeling. The king's letter has brought the Catholic gentry to a temper, calculated in a high degree to combine the most respectful moderation with proper firmness. I would pledge my existence that not one single irritating expression would be heard, nor any course pursued, but that which would increase and cement cordiality and good feeling, and tend to promote the views and intentions expressed in the king's letter.

"Without some such Board, the Catholic cause in Ireland cannot be discreetly or safely conducted in its present stages.

"Should any plan of this kind be adopted, the struggle for our liberties may easily be brought to a close in the most amicable manner. Things cannot remain as they are. The recent census in Ireland, however imperfectly taken, gives an actual return of names to the amount of within a few thousands of SEVEN MILLIONS. It is probably half a million below the mark. But take it at seven millions. It will not be disputed but that the Catholics are five millions and a half of that number—that is at the least *full one-third* of the entire population of the empire. *There may be one, but are there two instances in the world, of sober folly that could dream of our remaining as we are? No! I repeat it, things cannot remain as they are.* It is quite too late to think of going back. To re-enact a penal law would be to

"Cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war."

To go forward *well*, we should go forward *with unanimity*—unanimity not amongst the Catholics alone, but unanimity amongst the Protestants and Catholics. Every reasonable prejudice which may exist amongst the Protestants, either of England or Ireland, should be treated with courtesy, discussed with good temper, and satisfied by anything short of a sacrifice of any part of our religion. I know that many Protestants in Ireland are ready to meet us in perfect sincerity of these sentiments, and with a perfect reciprocity of good feeling. It is not the interest of the English nation, much less of the government, to increase exasperation in Ireland. On the contrary, it is their duty—and it is, I am convinced, the inclination—of the representative of the king in Ireland, and of the king himself, to produce tranquillity and harmony by these constitutional methods, which alone deserve to succeed. If the Catholics be not wanting to themselves, they may procure their civil rights, and preserve unimpaired the doctrine and the discipline of their ancient Church.

"A proper petition, and a discreet and rational Board or com-

mittee, are essentially necessary to enable us to steer through the remaining difficulties in the way of Emancipation. It is only by some organ of this kind that the mutual desire to make Emancipation satisfactory to all parties can be carried into effect. Without such an organ as this, distrust and jealousy will be perpetual in our own body, and no determination will have weight or importance enough to guide the public sentiment, or to obtain the public confidence. We might easily cashier it at once if it deviated from its intended objects. Whilst it pursued those objects with prudence, caution, fidelity, and perfect good temper, it would not only be of great utility in forwarding the claims of the Catholics, but it might be easily turned, by the government, to the great objects of restoring tranquillity throughout Ireland.

“ In fine, fellow-countrymen, our emancipation is probably within our grasp ; by prudent measures, we may now secure it. By our own misconduct, we may lose the present opportunity. There are no men so dangerous to our liberties as those who are ready to give too great a price for them. The flippancy with which some few exposed their anxiety to purchase civil rights at the expense of religion, has created alarm, disgust, and jealousy among the Catholics at large. It has prevented a combination of exertion ; it has paralyzed our best efforts ; and if these persons will not now submit to the universal sentiment of the Catholic people, and join in preventing a hasty legislation touching our ecclesiastical affairs, they will assuredly retard, and may prevent that emancipation of which they themselves are so desirous.

“ I conclude by conjuring you, my fellow-countrymen, to seek for your civil rights only in such a way that, whether you obtain them or not, you may preserve from every injury the doctrine and the discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Fellow-countrymen,

“ Your faithful humble Servant,

“ DANIEL O'CONNELL.”

“ No. I.

“ Proposed Plan for the Domestic Nomination of the Catholic Prelates in Ireland, including full Security to the Government against the appointment of any disaffected or disloyal Person.

“ First—That by virtue of an agreement with his Holiness the Pope, the succession of the Irish Catholic prelates be pro-

vided for by purely domestic nomination or election, and that no person shall be eligible to a Catholic see in Ireland but a natural born subject of the Crown of Great Britain, who shall have taken the oath of allegiance in one of the superior courts in Dublin, and shall have discharged the duties of a clergyman for at least five years in Ireland. And that the electors to each see be not only ecclesiastics and subjects bound by the same oath, but also the most respectable by their rank and character—that is to say, either the Roman Catholic bishops of the province in which the vacant see is situated, or the dean and chapter of the vacant diocese; and if the latter, that every diocese be provided with its dean and chapter, composed of at least twenty-four of the most virtuous and the most learned of the clergy.

“Secondly—That a see being vacant, the electors shall be called together—if bishops, by their metropolitan or senior suffragan, or if canons, by their dean. That previous to any other proceeding for nominating to the see, the head elector, whether metropolitan or senior suffragan, or dean, shall take a solemn oath in presence of the assembly, that he will not give his vote for any person who has not been known to him by the most satisfactory proofs to be strictly loyal and peaceable in his principles and conduct, and that the same oath be then administered by him to all the electors, and be taken by each of them as an indisputable qualification for exercising the right of suffrage.

“Thirdly—That the person elected shall not be consecrated unless due notice of his appointment be officially transmitted by the president of the electors to the seat of government, and two months be allowed for investigating his character; and that if, within that space of time, the government should assign, in distinct and specific terms, a charge of disloyalty or disaffection against him, that the charge be referred to the examination and decision of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, with full liberty to hear the answers of the accused, and require proofs on the part of government. That it be incumbent on this tribunal, if the innocence of the accused be fully established, to have him consecrated as soon as canonical institution can be received. But if the accusation be not fully and satisfactorily disproved, then that the archbishops do forthwith issue an order to the electors to proceed to a new nomination; and that similar proceedings do follow every subsequent election, until a person shall be elected, against whom no objection on the part of government shall be established, as aforesaid.

“That every Catholic bishop in Ireland shall, within the space of six months after his election, or, if the present bishops, shall within six months after the passing of an emancipation bill, take and subscribe an oath in one of the superior courts in Dublin, to this effect :—That he will not correspond with any pope, prince, prelate, or potentate, or any other person, out of the British dominions, upon any political subject whatever ; and that if any pope, prince, prelate, or potentate, or any other person whatever, shall write to him, or directly or indirectly communicate with him on political topics, he will with all convenient speed transmit under his hand to government a true copy of so much of every such bull, rescript, mandate, letter, writing, or communication whatsoever, as may relate to political affairs, *in anywise, directly or indirectly, being or having a tendency to be injurious to the rights of the crown or the government, or to the civil or temporal interests of any part of his Majesty's subjects.*

No. II.

“*Mr. Plunket's Observations on the proposed Plan.*”

“Instead of a specific charge to be established by specific proof, and to be repeated indefinitely, would it not be more advisable that the objection should be general : that the person nominated is considered as not well affected to the state, and let the party objected to be thereupon put aside? To avoid the objection that this right might be exercised so as to amount to a nomination, there might be a limit to the number of times, and then the next person nominated by the proper electors to be liable to no further question.

“This would avoid the possibility of a person filling a see, after being charged by the government with disaffection, which would be doubly injurious—first, as affixing some stigma to a dignified functionary ; and, secondly, as almost necessarily creating in his mind a feeling of hostility.

“The requiring a strict proof of a definitive charge of disloyalty would, I apprehend, render the power of objecting altogether ineffectual.

“On the part of the proposal respecting the intercourse, nothing occurs save as to the passage underlined in the proposal, which would, as it appears, have the effect of authorizing the holding a correspondence on subjects affecting the whole frame

of government and affairs of the state, provided the party corresponding were of opinion that the proposed measures were not injurious.

We now come to a scene, the record of which will give some idea of the troubles through which Mr. O'Connell had to pass, and in which he did not allow the provocations he received, to divert him from following up his idea of his duty to Ireland:—

“Yesterday (Wednesday, February 13th, 1822), an Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland was held at Denmark-street Chapel, pursuant to public advertisement.

“At half-past one o'clock, SIR THOMAS ESMONDE was called to the Chair

“MR. O'GORMAN stated the object of the meeting. He said, they had met for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning the legislature for a repeal of these laws which still aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland.

“O'CONNOR DON moved that the petition which had just been read should be adopted as the petition of the Catholics of Ireland.

“This motion was seconded by E. MOORE, Esq., and having been put from the Chair, passed unanimously.

“MR. N. MAHON then moved that the first resolution, which had been agreed to by the sub-committee, should be read.

MR. O'GORMAN read the resolution, which was as follows:—

“RESOLVED—‘That we deem it essential to our honour and interests, that as speedy a discussion as possible, in the present session, may be obtained on the merits of our petition.’

“MR. MAHON moved that this resolution should be adopted by the general meeting.

“J. E. DILLON, Esq., seconded the motion.

“MR. HUGH O'CONNOR stated, that having heard that resolution read on the preceding night, he came to the present meeting with a feeling of reluctance—

“MR. O'CONNELL—‘Before Mr. O' Connor speaks to the resolution which has been moved and seconded, it is right, in point of order, that it should be put from the Chair. Mr. O' Connor will then have an opportunity of speaking to the question.’

“The question was then put from the Chair, after which

“MR. O'CONNOR resumed—‘Mr. Chairman, I have said, that having heard the resolution read on the preceding night, that I came to the meeting with a feeling of reluctance. I am as anxious, sir, for the honour and the interests of the Catholic body as any individual in this assembly, but I conceive the present moment to be critical; and anxious as we may be for the attainment of our object, we ought not to discard prudence. We have a good cause; and nothing but a want of moderation, or, rather, impatience (if that word is liked better), can render it a bad one. In the late debate in parliament, when the House of Commons was devising means for the suppression of the outrages which have lately taken place in Ireland, it was with infinite regret I perceived that a minister of the crown advised that there should not be any attempt, for the present, to discuss the Catholic claims. Why this allusion should be made to the Catholics at such a moment I cannot well conceive: the Catholics are no way connected with the late outrages that have unhappily taken place (hear, hear). The observation, however, has been made, if the newspapers report correctly, by the minister, who is also our distinguished friend. However much I regret this

occurrence, I do think that we should not act imprudently in consequence of it. I think the word 'speedy' in the petition, and also in the resolution which has been just read, not decorous or well-advised. I would, therefore, move, as an amendment—

“That the petition of the Catholics of Ireland be committed to the care of the Right Hon. the Earl of Donoughmore, and the Right Hon. William Conyngham Plunket, with a respectful request that they will present it for discussion to both houses of parliament, at such period in the present session as they may conceive most beneficial for Catholic interests.”

“MR. O'CONNOR resumed—‘I recollect having waited on Mr. Plunket, about a year and a half ago, when that gentleman was first entrusted with the care of our petition; I was one of a deputation that had been appointed for the purpose. When we inquired of Mr. Plunket at what time the petition would be presented, he said that he would have to consult the friends of the measure, and that it should be laid before the house at the moment most favourable to the attainment of their object. The resolution which I have now proposed is in unison with the sentiments of that most distinguished supporter of Catholic claims, of the value of whose advocacy we are all so fully sensible.’

“JAMES EDWARD DEVEREUX, Esq., seconded Mr. O'Connor's amendment. The only difference between it and the original resolution was, whether they should press the immediate discussion of their petition, or leave it to their advocates to select the time they should conceive most beneficial for Catholic interests, limited, however, to the present session.

“O'CONNOR DON had heard with regret of the disturbances in the country; he knew the Roman Catholics to be as ready to put down disturbances as any others of his majesty's subjects could be. He conceived the present the most proper time for petitioning. No man would be inclined to give Lord Londonderry more credit for what he had done than himself; but they were not to be kept back by any talk of prudence. He conceived that it was for our honour and interests that our question should be speedily brought before parliament; but we do not dictate the time to our advocates; we only express our own opinions.

MR. HOWLEY, in a long speech, supported the amendment.

“MR. EDWARD MOORE supported the original resolution.

Considerable confusion prevailed, amid which MR. O'CONNELL arose, and spoke as follows:—

Mr. O'Connell—I never rose to address a Catholic meeting with more pleasure than I feel on the present occasion. Our conduct has been such, that we have deserved to be emancipated, and we will be emancipated (hear, hear), if we do not, by any idle bickering among ourselves, retard the progress of our cause. I will point out to these gentlemen the course to be pursued, by which we will be most likely to attain the object we have in view. But first, let me congratulate my Catholic fellow-countrymen on the progress that we have already made; and I trust that I am guilty of no impiety, when, in the temple of my God, I thank that God for the unanimity we have evinced this day, in adopting that petition. With respect to that petition, it called for a speedy discussion on the merits of our claims—

“MR. NICHOLAS MAHON here called Mr. O’Connell to order. The petition had been passed, and should not now be made the subject of discussion.

“MR. O’CONNELL—‘I am not out of order. I assert that *that* petition requires the meeting to pass my resolution.’

“MR. JAMES O’GORMAN—‘I call Mr. O’Connell to order; we are not now discussing the merits of the petition.’

“MR. O’CONNELL—‘I call on the meeting to call for a speedy discussion on our petition.’

“[Here much confusion and noise ensued, which was allayed by the Chairman stating that Mr. O’Connell said that he was speaking to the resolution and the amendment, and that he conceived he had a right to be heard.]

Mr. O’Connell resumed—This petition speaks of our gratitude for the concessions already made to us, without encroaching on our religious tenets or institutions. Is there any one amongst us that is sorry they did not encroach upon our religious tenets or institutions? Where is the man who regrets it? Oh! I should like to see his face. Our religion is at this day nearly the same as that of Henry VIII. was. When we can be unanimous amongst ourselves, I cannot see why we should put our reason and judgment into the pockets of any two individuals, even though these individuals should be the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Plunket. I now offer to the gentlemen—shall I say on the other side?—no, I will not; I will say the gentlemen who press the amendment; I offer to them to put my resolution previous to the amendment; take the sense of the meeting first on that, and I will, myself, agree to the amendment, which can be afterwards put as a separate resolution (no, no). Who is now looking for a division? I ask you first to decide on Mr. Mahon’s resolution (no, no). If it be a bad one, you can reject it, without getting rid of it by the side-wind of an amendment. You have heard the name of Lord Londonderry, or Castlereagh introduced; he has been termed our dignified friend.

“MR. O’CONNOR—‘The words I used were “distinguished friend.”’

Mr. O’Connell—I beg the gentleman’s pardon; when I have occasion to speak again of Lord Londonderry, it shall be, for the remainder of the day, as our “distinguished friend,” though I do not admit that he is my friend.

“A person in the crowd—‘Do you come here to abuse members of parliament?’

Mr. O’Connell—The Marquis of Londonderry is not my friend. Mr. Lawless, of Belfast, the conductor of the ‘Irishman,’ has asserted that I am on the point of accepting a bribe from government; that I am about to receive a silk gown from them: the created universe would not induce me to accept a favour under

the administration of Lord Londonderry. (Loud interruption, and murmurs of disapprobation, together with cries of "question, question.")

"Mr. HUGH O'CONNOR conceived that Mr. O'Connell was taking up the time of the meeting very unnecessarily (Several groans.)

Mr. O'Connell—Mr. O'Connor spoke of Lord Londonderry ; it is strange if I must not. I have served three apprenticeships to my profession ; I have been for the space of twenty-one years a barrister ; it is seventeen years since I first took a part in Catholic affairs ; my child was then young—he has since grown up to be a man, and I am naturally anxious for the attainment of our object.

We are told that we should not press the discussion on our petition, at the present moment, in consequences of the disturbances in the country ; and a few weeks, it is said, will put an end to those disturbances ; but what has occasioned them ? Is it not poverty and misery ? And what is to make the wretched peasantry rich in the course of three weeks ? We may expect to find them purchasing houses in Mountjoy and Merrion-squares ; but how are they to acquire the means ? Oh ! I suppose by the lottery—they have as good a chance of becoming rich that way, as any other that I know of.

The counties of Tipperary, Clare, and Limerick have been proclaimed ; and it is yet supposed that all the disturbances that have lately agitated the country shall cease in the course of three weeks. They may, however, continue for seven years ; and it may be urged as an argument against our claims next year, that a tithe-proctor was killed in one place, and a "notice" of Captain Rock's seen in another. If our "distinguished friend" did not mean an imputation, when he alluded to the disturbed state of Ireland, it would be said by our enemies that he did ; and they would not be backward in saying that we understood him, and that we did not press our claims, fearing that our turbulence would be discovered. Thus would an imputation be fastened on the honour of the Catholic people.

We cannot conceive anything more foolish or disgraceful, than the scenes of blood and outrage that have taken place in the south of Ireland ; it is a trial of mere brutal force against everything that is intellectual. Fellow-countrymen, you have in me one unpurchaseable friend—a man whom empires would not buy—a man who, during his own life, had at heart only your good, and who would sacrifice a thousand lives to do you service. It

is then such a man, fellow-countrymen, who entreats of you not to participate in any treasonable project against the state. (Frodidious applause.)

Let no man say we thought Lord Londonderry was borne out in the imputation, if it was one ; we challenge him to the proof, if any can be adduced ; we say the imputation is a foul, foul one, and we shake it off “as dew-drops from the lion’s mane.”

I can’t afford to pay the compliment of my rights to the convenience of a minister ; let those who enjoy their all under ministerial influence, look down from their stations, and amuse themselves with spitting upon the slaves—the Irish people. They may still keep me in thralldom, but I am resolved that their slumbers shall be disturbed by the clanking of my chains. Our “distinguished friends” may turn their backs on us, but when we look to the state of Europe, should six millions of people be afraid of using the language of common sense? Look to Russia sending a force of 200,000 men against Constantinople, and thus breaking up the holy alliance. Look to Greece, struggling for freedom ; look to Spain ; look to Portugal. In those countries we see the inquisition and the tithe system abolished. Look to France——

“MR. O’CONNOR—‘Does Mr. O’Connell mean to occupy the time of this meeting with such ridiculous nonsense?’ (Applause.)

Mr. O’Connell—Whether it be ridiculous or sensible, I am determined I will not be prevented from going on. (Loud laughing, which continued for some time.) Can they look for foreign support against our claims? What might have ensued in Ireland if the Catholic clergy had remained neuter?

“MR. DEVEREUX called Mr. O’Connell to order.

Mr. O’Connell—A weekly publication in this city has already dared to cast an imputation on the Catholic clergy. Another paper, which affects to be our friend, has charged them with want of exertion. We have arrived at a time when an imputation, or what may be considered as such by others, has been thrown out in parliament against the Catholics of Ireland. Our going forward with our petition, fully and properly, meets that imputation. It has been said that we did not talk of honour in any of our former petitions ; but I hold in my hand the resolutions passed at a Catholic meeting, in the year 1813, two of which I shall read. The Catholics then declared that they would not accept of any concession inconsistent with their honour. [Here Mr. O’Connell read from a printed pamphlet.]

"MR. HOWLEY repeated that the word honour had never been similarly used

Mr. O'Connell—The present is a peculiarly favourable time for the discussion of our petition ; now that the guilty are about to be punished, it is right that the meritorious should be rewarded. Those who govern wisely reward as well as punish. We have lived nearly seven hundred years under English government, and if this is the result, the fault is not attributable to us ; we have not governed ourselves.

"CAPTAIN FOTRELL, amid much confusion, made some remarks on Mr. O'Connell's speech, but was forced to sit down by cries of 'question.'

"[Here MR. HUGH O'CONNOR, MR. HOWLEY, and others, declared they would withdraw the amendment, and permit Mr. O'Connell's resolution to pass, upon the understanding that Mr. O'Connell would not oppose it as a separate resolution. Mr. O'Connell assented.]

"MR. MAHON'S resolution (the original one) was then put and carried, amidst loud cries of 'no, no.'

"MR. O'CONNOR'S amendment was then put as a separate resolution, and carried.

"It was then moved by JAMES EDWARD DEVEREUX, Esq., and seconded by O'CONNOR DON—

"That a committee of eleven be appointed to prepare a petition or address to his Majesty, from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, praying that he would be graciously pleased to recommend to parliament a Repeal of the Penal Laws still affecting that portion of his Majesty's subjects.'

"The following gentlemen were then named on the Committee:—

"Sir Thomas Esmonde, Chairman ; James O'Gorman, Esq., O'Conor Don, Daniel O'Connell, Esq., Hugh O'Connor, Esq., James Edward Devereux, Esq., John Howley, Esq., Nicholas Mahon, Esq., Edward Moore, Esq., Lord Killeen, Thomas Fitzgerald, Esq.'

"After some other routine business, the meeting adjourned, *sine die*.

"MR. O'CONNELL'S allusion to the charge against him by Mr. Lawless produced a letter from that gentleman a few days after ; a disclaimer of any intention to make such a charge."

NATIONAL TESTIMONIAL TO GEORGE THE FOURTH.

SUBSCRIBERS' MEETING—APRIL 25.

MR. O'CONNELL rose and stated that he had listened with considerable attention to the observations and opinions of the several gentlemen who preceded him. Some were of opinion that a pyramid, some that an arch, some that a statue, and many that a bridge was the most eligible mode of testifying public gratitude

on the auspicious occasion of the king's visit. As to a pyramid, he felt that, from the specimens which had been already given in that department of architecture, an additional obelisk would not meet with very general public satisfaction. Nelson's pillar and the Wellington Testimonial were lamentable failures; and it was deeply to be regretted that these erections had not been more worthy of the occasions which they were intended to commemorate. He believed, therefore, that a pyramid would by no means please or satisfy the public.

As to an arch at the end of Sackville-street, he regarded it as equally objectionable; it would only spoil the appearance of a beautiful street, already too much lumbered with a pile that was by no means ornamental. After a short time it would be disregarded, and become, like a market-cross, a place for sticking bills on. As to a statue, he for one, did not approve of it. There were already many statues in the city, and more were about to be erected; besides, they could not get a suitable site in which to place it. It would not be admitted into the squares; and he knew no other spot would be worthy of it. Under these circumstances, he was strongly disposed in favour of the suggestion of the bridge. It would combine utility with ornament—and be the more gratifying to his Majesty, as adopted in conformity to the expressed wish of his Majesty. Lord Manners communicated it at a general meeting; and he remembered to have heard the noble lord state that his Majesty did not mean by this suggestion to interfere with the free choice of the subscribers. The delicacy of the communication was an additional reason to recommend the preference of a bridge. Besides, it would afford an agreeable approach to the Park, and save families the necessity of passing through Barrack-street—an unpleasant, and often extremely offensive way. This would make the Park a place of general recreation to the citizens, and thus assimilate it to Hyde Park, in London. It would, besides, unite both parts of the city in some degree, and be emblematic of his Majesty's desire to unite all parties in this country. He could not but express his regret, that his Majesty's anxiety had not *experienced a corresponding anxiety in some quarters*. After forcibly urging other reasons, why a preference should be given to a bridge, the learned gentleman concluded by moving that the erection of a bridge over the Liffey, opposite the entrance to his Majesty's Park, the Phœnix, be strongly recommended by the subscribers, amongst the plans referred to them, as an object worthy to commemorate his Majesty's visit to this country.

NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION

At a meeting which took place in the Rotunda Buildings, upon Tuesday, the 7th May. In this year, the first idea of the present National Board of Education in Ireland seems to have been shadowed out. It will be seen from Mr. O'Connell's remarks, which we give as we found them, in an evidently much abbreviated form, that, friendly as he was then (as ever) to the general spread of education, and anxious to put in motion all good means for that purpose, he did not contemplate any of the overweening liberality of the education mongers of our day, but an education carefully watched over, as it ought to be, by the clergy

MR. O'CONNELL proposed the fourth resolution. He spoke at some length, and with great eloquence. He declared that the Catholic clergy were most anxious for the establishment of schools in all parts of Ireland; but they wished to see them founded on one principle only—the principle of fair play—the principle of diffusing education as widely as possible, but leaving every one's conscience uninfluenced. They would teach children of *all* persuasions, but would not interfere with the religious tenets of *any*. It was upon this principle the Kildare-street Society professed to set out. They had, however, abandoned it; and, therefore, the National Society became necessary.

Mr. O'Connell proceeded to show that education, without a shade of religious distinction, was afforded to the poor by the National Society, to the extent of its means, and he referred to the letters of the Catholic clergy, lately published in the papers, to prove,

First—That the clergy were anxious to promote the education of the poor.

Secondly—That the Kildare-street Society does *not* educate the poor.

Thirdly—That it is impossible it ever can educate the poor; for the Catholic clergy never will consent to the use of the Scriptures without note or comment, as the school-book; and without this the Kildare-street Society will not give education.

Mr. O'Connell concluded with expressing his conviction that, as the legislature certainly wished to educate the poor of Ireland, they would not refuse to grant to the National Society, which, he contended, it was now evident could alone effect that object.

* * * * *

* Moved by Mr. O'Connell, and seconded by Doctor Blake (5)—'That the following petition be presented to parliament, and that the secretaries be directed to write to Thomas S. Rice, Esq., requesting him to present our petition to parliament, and to write to the Irish members of parliament, requesting them to support the same.' "

The petition referred to was as follows:—

‘To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled.

“The Petition of the undersigned Vice-Presidents and Committee of the Irish National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor.

“We, the Vice-Presidents and Committee of the Irish National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor, beg leave respectfully to represent to your Right Honourable House, that although large sums have been annually voted by Parliament for the general purposes of education, those sums have not been made available for the education of the Roman Catholic poor, who are the most numerous of that class of society, and who stand most in need of legislative assistance.

“Your Petitioners further respectfully state their conviction that no beneficial aid can be rendered to the poor by way of education in Ireland, if it be regulated in a manner adverse to the religious opinions, or calculated to excite the apprehensions or distrust of the parents or pastors of the children.

“Your Petitioners further state, that the system of education which they have adopted is unanimously and alone sanctioned by the concurrence and co-operation of the Catholic prelates and pastors of Ireland.

“Your Petitioners earnestly and respectfully implore such legislative assistance in aid of their object as may seem good to the wisdom of your Right Honourable House.

“And your Petitioners will ever pray.”

“IRISH NATIONAL SOCIETY.

“VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Lord Cloncurry.
Lord Gormanstown.
Most Rev. Dr. Troy.
Most Rev. Dr. O’Kelly.

Right Rev. Dr. Doyle.
Lord Killeen.
The Earl of Fingal.
Most Rev. Dr. Curtis.

Most Rev. Dr. Murray.
Right Rev. Dr. Marone.
Sir Thos. Esmonde, Bart.

“COMMITTEE.

Alderman McKenny.
Sir Charles Morgan.
Very Rev. Dr. Blake.
Colonel Nelly.
Rev. Dr. Lube.
Rev. Dr. D’Arcy.
John Phelps, jun., Esq.
Lewis Perrin, Esq.
Rev. Mr. Flanagan.
William H. Curran, Esq.
John O’Brien, Esq.

Joseph Huband, Esq.
James J. Cullanan, Esq.
Robert Cassidy, Esq.
Doctor Cullanan.
Rev. Mr. Hewson.
John Burne.
Very Rev. Dr. Hamill.
Cornelius M’Laughlin, Esq.
Nicholas Mahon, Esq.
Archd. H. Rowan, Esq.
Michael Sweetman, Esq.

James Charles Baron, Esq.
Daniel O’Connell, Esq.
Thomas Dillon, Esq.
Francis Mac Donnell, Esq.
Edward Mgore, Esq.
T. Mac Donnell, Esq.
Anthony O’Brien, Esq.
John Power, Esq.
P. Costello, Esq.
P. J. Hart, Esq.
Bernard Mullins, Esq.”

Very different such a Board of Presidency would have been from that proposed by the Infidel Colleges’ Act of 1845!

DISTRESS OF THE POOR IN THE SOUTH AND
WEST OF IRELAND.

THAT amid all the minor business of his life, engrossing and multifarious as they were, Mr. O'Connell still steadily kept his eye far a-head, to his glorious and all-transcending object—the regeneration of Ireland by the Repeal of the Union—will be again recognised from the expressions in the following short speech of his. at a meeting held at the Mansion House, in Dawson-street, on Thursday, the 16th of May, “on behalf,” as the advertisement stated it, “of the distressed labouring poor of the South and West of Ireland.” The distress alluded to was the great famine of the year 1822.

MR. O'CONNELL begged leave to offer a few observations, before the resolution for the committee was put from the chair. He rejoiced at seeing the present meeting; perhaps he might have wished to see it convened before; but as it had been stated that there were reasons for not calling it at an earlier day, he was disposed to believe that those reasons (although he did not hear them) were satisfactory. It was, however, in no small degree mortifying to national vanity, that they should have heard of subscriptions for the relief of the distressed peasantry of Ireland, in London, Liverpool, and other places, not only before a meeting was convened, but before they were told an official account had reached Dublin of the extent of the distress. However, as the meeting did now take place, their first and only object should be the relief of their suffering fellow-countrymen.

As to the appointment of a committee, it would be desirable that it should be postponed until to-morrow. For his part, he had no reluctance to attend the meeting—his presence there evinced that he had not. There were, however, he knew, many most respectable merchants, principally Catholic, who would gladly attend at the Exchange, but were not equally disposed to attend at the Mansion House. Indeed (said Mr. O'Connell), as to myself, I should feel proud on the occasion, as I received an invitation to come here—an invitation which it is not usual for me to receive. (Laughter.) The feelings of others, he thought, should in some degree be deferred to. The subscription would not be diminished, and would in all probability be increased, by ensuring the cordial co-operation of all. There should be no rivalry in the present case, except a generous rivalry and emulation to excel each other in cheerfully contributing to the relief of their suffering fellow-countrymen. (Cheers.)

The duties which the committees had to discharge required that it should be formed on a broad and extensive basis. They

had to regulate the subscriptions, to correspond with various other committees, and he hoped, also, to inquire into the cause of the present distress; for, without such inquiry, the peasantry might continue one half of the year in insurrection, and the other half in starvation. His friend, Mr. Leader, had eloquently enumerated many of the causes. It was now vain, however, he feared, to speak of absenteeism. The period for that was now gone by. *When the government of this country, with its peers and commoners, was transported to another country, it was idle to speak of absentees, for the great proprietors were obliged by law to be absent from their native land.* (Hear, hear.)

To alleviate the distress, extraordinary exertions were made in England, and a munificent subscription made up from various parts of that country. The warmest praise and highest credit, were, of course, no more than what was due, and were duly and abundantly given to our English neighbours, for their munificent charity on this occasion—a charity, that, during the late seven years of renewed and terrible distress, we have seen also renewed in a considerable degree. Not detracting in the least from the merit of these contributions it is still fair to express a deep feeling of regret that the English people have not long ago profited by the frequent experience of our economic weakness and ever-recurring necessities, to put in practice the larger and nobler, and in every point of view, the wiser charity by far, of restoring to us the means of promoting and maintaining our own prosperity, without having to undergo the humiliation of soliciting alms.

The larger work from which we are compiling the present selected collection of Mr. O'Connell's speeches, pursues this train of reflections throughout several pages of its second volume. The latter was published in 1846, when we were but as at the commencement of the fearful period of famine and distress from which we are only now beginning to emerge. Those reflections were apposite then, and their soundness will be acknowledged by any one who shall calmly and without prejudice, test them by the sad experience gained during the period in question. They are apposite and applicable at present not merely in anticipation of recurring evils of a similar kind, but actually to our present condition; which no one can pretend to consider such as it ought to be, or as giving promise of any real and enduring prosperity. We therefore will copy from the work in question a portion of what is there said on the subject:—

“The best and truest charity is that which tends to put its object in a position to depend thenceforward upon self-exertion. If that be true as regards the poor labourer that begs at your door for employment, it is, if possible, more eminently and stringently true in its application to the case of the people of Ireland. Considerations of *restitution* and *atonement* should mix up with those of charity in dealing with their case. England has forcibly deprived them of that which is the key-stone of the prosperity of a country—a home-parliament, acquainted with home affairs and interests, and able to devote its time exclusively to them. The key-stone gone, the rest of the arch has come tumbling down in hideous ruin. The rich proprietary had no inducement to remain in a provincialized country, when tempted by the metropolitan gaieties and splendours of the seat of imperial legislation. Their rents, as we have seen, went with them; and the decrease in the circulation of money, and decrease of rich consumers, made our home market too weak to sustain our struggling manufactures against the competition of English capitalists.

“What custom remained for manufactures being thus laid hold of by England, the moneys paid for them became, of course, an addition to the pecuniary drain. With the impoverishment of the country, her foreign trade naturally fell away; and for what foreign goods there yet remained any Irish consumption, we have had to look to England also; and thus again the drain was increased, in this case in a twofold manner—first, by the profits of the carrying

trade, and again by the amount of the duties on such goods; these duties being paid in England, and credited by the English revenues return, and repaid to the English merchant in the price paid by the Irish consumer

"When all was distress around, the Irish landowner did not, of course, escape. His own improvidence is a favourite theme with English writers; but provident or improvident, the landowner, in a country running to bankruptcy, must suffer with the rest. The loans on mortgage which have so deeply incumbered estates in our four provinces, were made in England, or through English sources; and the heavy annual interest has thus become an additional item of money drain.

"As the blood to the human body, so is the money of a country to the body politic. Exhaustion of blood weakens and destroys the one; exhaustion of money the other. True it is that Ireland is not entirely robbed of her money—that sums collectively of considerable amount, are in the Irish funds and savings banks, and other such investments of limited profit, but these are the unhealthy deposits of a deranged and impeded circulation—of a circulation deranged by diminution of a needful sustenance, and by an abstraction of at least a large portion of the vital fluid itself.

"The first and most obvious remedy is, to stop the drains. Do so by looking to their source. Restore the rich proprietors to their country, by giving her a parliament, which will require the personal attendance of many, and the vigilance of all; at once from six to seven millions of the drains in question cease to go from us—a sum, be it recollected, very considerably exceeding the amount of the public revenue in Ireland. So much capital restored will revivify and compensate enterprise, manufacturing and commercial; the home market of Ireland will flourish, and the increasing wealth of the country will have its influence on every class and every interest throughout the community, restoring all to that prosperity which it is so evidently in the designs of Almighty Providence that poor Ireland shall enjoy.

"England would have eminently her advantage, too, were the Union repealed, and Irish prosperity thus restored—an advantage all-surpassing in the friendship, fast alliance, and undeviating support of the re-invigorated and regenerated Irish nation; but an immediate, directly tangible, and most practical advantage in the *increased ability of Ireland to share the burdens of the empire*. Her revenue is small now; not because of great inferiority of taxation—for her taxation is higher than as three to four in comparison with that of England—but because of the *poverty of her consumers* of taxed articles. With the increase of their means, their consumption of such articles would, of course, increase; and thus, within not many months of the stoppage of the drains of Ireland by Repeal, England would be rewarded by a large increase (*without any new taxation*) to the funds, out of which the general expenditure of these realms is defrayed."

WALLACE v. STAUNTON.—LIBEL.

THE next speech of Mr. O'Connell's that we have to put on record, was delivered in a legal case. Michael Staunton, Esq., the present respected Collector-General of Metropolitan Rates, was at that time (1821), as for many years afterwards, proprietor and editor of the *Dublin Morning Register*, a journal which long, ably, and most perseveringly advocated, under his direction, the cause of Ireland.

Mr. Staunton, then a very young man, at the outset of his honourable and useful career, was arraigned in the King's Bench, upon the 25th of May, in the year mentioned, for an alleged libel upon Thomas Wallace, Queen's Counsel (the late Master in Chancery), in an article which had appeared in the *Register* some time before. The following is the report of Mr. O'Connell's speech:—

MR. O'CONNELL then arose on behalf of Mr. Staunton. Amongst the peculiarities of the present case there was one which astonished him—the prosecutor did not appear.

For the first time, he believed, in the history of the jurisprudence of this country, the prosecutor in a private prosecution did not come forward to state and prove the grounds of his complaint. In the present instance it was the more to be wondered at, as the prosecutor was within hearing, or at least within the hall. It would not be difficult to discern why his friends deemed it prudent not to examine him. In advising him not to show himself in the witness's box, they proved themselves as discreet as they are learned. They knew that he should admit the truth of the statements contained in these publications; and this admission it was not their object or interest to procure.

This was a disadvantage to the defendant, which in the history of the persecutions of the press, was unparalleled. He hoped, however, although his non-appearance had all the merit of novelty, it would not have the advantage of success. His absence from the witness's box, he (Mr. O'C.) would place in the front of his defence, and more earnestly call the attention of the jury to it, as a bad precedent was always imitated with the readiest alacrity, and speedily passed into a law.

The prosecutor and his client were strongly contrasted on the present occasion. The prosecutor was a barrister, and a king's counsel of high and respectable station in his profession. He had raised himself to rank, to fortune, and to fame, with as little support from patronage as any man in any profession, and without any aid but what he drew from the resources of a vigorous mind and industrious habits. The artificer of his own fortune, he was a proud living example of the result produced by a combination of superior talent and honourable exertion. This testimony he readily bore to the character of the prosecutor, and he was satisfied he could do so without infringing in the slightest degree on the interests of his client.

The defendant, on the contrary, was unknown to them. He was the son of a gentleman who gave what he only could give his son—a good education; and whose only legacy to him was an unprovided mother and an unportioned sister: a legacy which he did not renounce, but which he accepted and cherished with the most devoted attachment. The verdict of the jury was to determine whether he was to be now torn from those relations—to be sent into a dungeon, for having expressed his opinions in the exercise of his duty as an editor of a newspaper upon a sub-

ject of public interest, at a time that the whole press of the country was leagued with Mr. Wallace in hunting down an individual whose conduct was about to become the subject of legal investigation.

He defied the jury to discover one assignable motive of malice to the conduct of the defendant, either in endeavouring to prevent the due administration of justice, to provoke breaches of the law, to vilify the character of Mr. Wallace, or infringe on the privileges of the bar, which constituted the several charges in the counts of the indictment.

As to motives of malice in the defendant, there was nothing, he believed, imputable to his client. On the contrary, his friendly disposition to Mr. Wallace, had been made manifest before. When that gentleman was candidate for Drogheda, Mr. Staunton, on that and other occasions, inserted paragraphs, complimentary of Mr. Wallace, in *The Freeman's Journal*, of which he was at that time the editor. He had, many years ago, risen by his talents to the sole editorship of *The Freeman's Journal*, which he held, enjoying a salary of near £500 a-year, until he undertook the publication of *The Weekly Register*, with the view of advancing himself in the world. In *The Freeman's Journal*, and in his own paper, he had always given Mr. Wallace the warmest support as a public man; thus showing, that so far from having any feeling of malice or ill-will towards Mr. Wallace, he always entertained for him the most favourable sentiments.

And here (said Mr. O'C.) give me leave respectfully to say, that from being unaccustomed to trials of this nature in this country, you are, to a certain extent, I might almost say, unfit to try this case. If I was addressing a jury of Englishmen, where cases of this nature are better understood, they would call on me to prove the truth of the statements contained in the publication, and if proved to be true, they would acquit my client.

As to the charge of these publications impeding public justice, they could only prevent it in either of two ways: either in prejudicing the minds of the jury, and thereby preventing conviction, or by prejudicing the bench, in order to prevent punishment. The case on which this prejudice was supposed to take place was the assault on Mr. Wallace; and he asked the jury if, after the strong evidence which had been given of that assault, could they hesitate to convict Mr. M'Namara, although they had read a hundred such publications? He was confident

they could not. Idle as it was to talk of prejudicing the minds of the jury, it was doubly so to suppose it could sway the bench, whom the habitual exercise of a dispassionate judgment had raised far above such influence.

The privileges of the bar formed another topic of consideration. Unquestionably, they were proud and valuable privileges; but their value should make persons discreet and circumspect in the use of them. It could not be denied that they had on many occasions been exercised to an unwarrantable extent. They were intended for the protection not only of the members of the bar, but also for the due attainment of justice; they had been, however, frequently perverted to the purpose of trampling down justice with the individual. The abuse of them now was less frequent, and the reason was, because the bench was every day improving. The bar did not require protection from the subject, but the subject required protection from the bar.

Their verdict would, in a measure, decide what limit was to be placed to a barrister, in the statement and animadversions, by the manner in which they would deal with a person who had only remarked upon the introduction of a third person into a statement of a leading counsel—that person a respectable female, unconnected altogether with the case, and yet visited with the severest epithets. It had been proved that at the trial of *Caila v. M'Namara*, a great deal of intemperance had been shown, and shown at the time of taking a bill of exceptions, when there might be supposed to be least occasion for it.

As to the vilification of the character of Mr. Wallace, there was nothing in the publication which could even warrant such an imputation. On the contrary, one of the publications stated him to be “a man of talent and spirit.” The statements in these publications were the assertion of facts which were not disproved, and some editorial observations mitigatory of the conduct of Mr. R. M'Namara. Here Mr. O'Connell read several paragraphs from *The Freeman's Journal Patriot, Dublin Journal, &c.*, which animadverted in severe terms on the conduct of Mr. R. M'Namara; and Mr. O'Connell asked if, whilst the whole press of Dublin was teeming with vituperation on the conduct of that unfortunate gentleman, it was not admissible to offer something in mitigation? He (Mr. O'C.) would be satisfied to rest the case of his client on the constitutional principle, that every man should be accounted innocent until proved to be guilty. And whilst every other paper was wrongfully prejudicing the public on the side of guilt, even before accusation, his

client alone appeared on the side of mercy, and maintained the propriety of not condemning Mr. M'Namara before trial.

Mr. O'Connell dwelt on this point with much force and eloquence. He could wish to have seen this matter amicably adjusted before it came into court. At one time he hoped that an adjustment would take place, but as it was on the eve of settlement there came a question of costs. He regretted that Mr. Wallace was advised to stoop to the consideration of them, which, if unadvised, he was sure he would not do. His client could not pay costs. The payment of them would be his ruin. After advertising to a variety of other exculpatory topics, Mr. O'Connell conjured the jury to pause before they plunged a young gentleman in goal, for the blameless exercise of his duty as a proprietor of the public press—to hesitate before they tore this last remnant from the freedom of discussion—the right of remarking *truly* on the conduct of public men, and on public transactions. If the press was to be despoiled of this privilege, it ceased to be a moral benefit, and would become a mischievous machine, at the beck and influence of every person who was rich and powerful enough to control it.

A burst of applause from a crowded court followed the delivery of this speech.

Mr. Staunton was, notwithstanding, convicted, and suffered an imprisonment in Kilmainnam. But conviction and condemnation, merited or unmerited, was sure to be a Catholic's fate before a city of Dublin jury, chosen and packed as they were, and still often are, by the foulest means and practices of the Orange sheriffs.

We hasten on to a letter of Mr. O'Connell's, on the subject of the annual Orange demonstrations in Dublin:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MARQUIS WELLESLEY,
&c., &c., &c.

“Merrion-square, July 11th, 1822.

“MY LORD—To-morrow will finally decide the character of your administration. The oppressed and neglected Catholics of Ireland had fondly hoped, that they might have obtained from a *friend*, placed in the exalted situation which your excellency occupies, a recommendation in favour of their claims. You took an early opportunity to crush that hope for ever. In your reply to the address of the Catholics of the county Clare, you told the Irish people that you came here to ‘*administer the laws, not to alter them.*’

“My lord, but a few weeks elapsed, when you deemed it expedient to recommend the insurrection act, and the act to suspend the *habeas corpus*. That the latter was not wanting, is

now admitted by everybody ; and that any necessity is a justification of the former, remains, in my humble judgment, to be proved.

“ It still remains for your excellency to *administer the laws*. Hitherto the Catholics have felt no advantages from your excellency’s administration. The system by which we are governed—the cold system of exclusion and distrust—is precisely the same as that of the most rigid of your predecessors. One principal actor, to be sure, has been withdrawn from the scene, and we may deem the alteration a compliment ; but I am yet to learn what benefit we are to derive from it ; and I appeal to your lordship, whether the change to which I allude has not been amply compensated for to the exclusionists, by the removal of the mildest, kindest, and best public man Ireland has ever yet seen—Mr. Grant.

“ Your excellency came to *administer the laws*. My lord, I most respectfully, but, at the same time, most firmly call upon you to *administer them*. The exhibition intended (it is said) for to-morrow, is plainly a violation of the law. It is an open and public excitement to a breach of the peace ; it is a direct provocation to tumult ; it obstructs the public streets, by collecting on the one side an insulting, and on the other, an irritated concourse of persons. It is, my lord, for these, and other obvious reasons, a manifest violation of the law.

“ I pledge myself to prove, before any court, or to any impartial jury, that the usual annual exhibition on the 12th of July is illegal.

“ I make this pledge under no small risk. I have certainly as large, probably a larger professional income than any man in a stuff gown ever had at the Irish bar—an income depending mainly upon the public notion that I understand something of my profession. I could not afford to forfeit that public confidence ; and yet I freely consent to forfeit it all, unless I am able to demonstrate to any judicial tribunal, *that the annual exhibitions of the 12th of July are illegal*.

“ Having given this pledge, I again respectfully call upon your excellency to vindicate the exalted character you have heretofore acquired, to do justice to the high name you bear, and to fulfil the duties of the exalted station which you occupy.

“ As you cannot *alter*, I again respectfully, dutifully, but firmly call upon you to *administer the law*, and to suppress an illegal and insulting nuisance.

“ My lord, you do not, cannot want, the means of suppressing

this nuisance. One word from you will be abundantly sufficient to do it. The expensive police of Dublin is at your disposal. With one word you can remove every one of them, from the chief magistrate in the chief office to the lowest retainer in the patrol department.

“The corporation has, to be sure, the power to nominate to many of those situations, but that influence, which, alas! is deemed necessary over higher assemblies, is preserved in perfect purity over the corporation by your Excellency's undoubted right to dismiss the nominees of the corporation, at your pleasure, from those lucrative situations in the police.

“You do not, my lord, want the power to administer the law. To say nothing of the military force at your disposal, you can command, and it is within the limits (and would it were within the practice) of our constitution to command them, all the liberal Protestants, constituting a most numerous and respectable body; and the entire Catholic population of Dublin, as special constables, to keep the peace, and prevent a violation of the law.

“You have, my lord, ample power, and God forbid it should ever be said, that you wanted the inclination to administer the laws *impartially* towards all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

“I say nothing of his most gracious Majesty's parting admonition; I say nothing of the disinterested and affectionate loyalty which the Catholics showed to their sovereign, on his visit to Ireland; and I scorn to boast of the active part so humble an individual as myself took upon that important occasion. My lord, the Catholics forgot injuries, and what is infinitely more difficult, forgave insults, to effect a reconciliation with their Protestant fellow-subjects; and in no one instance have the Catholics, since the King's visit, violated *in deed, or even in word*, the spirit of that amicable concord which they then sought, and believed they had attained. I now defy the most active of our calumniators to point out any one single act, or even any one single word, by which the Catholics have violated that concord.

“But, alas! how speedily, how completely, how entirely has it been violated upon the other side. On the other side, those men who were loudest in proclaiming *sentiments* of amity, what has been their conduct since? But I will not dwell upon this painful subject; I will only say, that the Catholics deserve and require protection from insult and injury. Will you, my lord, refuse them that protection?

“To-morrow decides the character of your excellency's administration in Ireland. That your conduct then and always may

at length justify the wishes of your admirers, and the fallen expectation of this fallen country, is the anxious desire of,

“My Lord, your Excellency’s most obedient,
“Most respectful, humble Servant,
“DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

The degree of attention which the Marquis of Wellesley paid to this earnest remonstrance of Mr. O’Connell, on the part of the insulted Catholic people of Ireland, can be gathered from the following account of the proceedings in Dublin on July the 12th, 1822, taken from the *Freeman’s Journal* of the succeeding day.

“ORANGE DISPLAY.

“The statue (King William) in College-green was dressed yesterday, the 12th July, in the usual manner. The ceremony was performed by a few mean-looking persons, about four o’clock in the morning, in the presence of several POLICEMEN, who made no attempt to prevent it.

“Two soldiers were observed in College-green about the same time. The persons most active on the occasion were a Mr. Brownlow, who got on the pedestal, a Mr. Forbes, a merchant’s clerk, and a Mr. Hudson. A country attorney, name unknown, was also present. When they had completed their foolish and mischievous work, they proceeded in a body to the public-house (Daly’s) in Werburgh-street, where they held their grand lodge. On their way they amused themselves by shouting and huzzaing, and alarming the peaceable citizens by striking the doors and window-shutters as they passed along the streets. There were a few spectators in the street when the trappings were put up.

“During the whole of the day the assemblage of persons continued to increase hour after hour. At nine o’clock in the evening the crowd became very thick and dense; many of the indignant spectators could no longer endure the insult. Some persons from the crowd accordingly mounted the pedestal, with an intention of undressing the statue. The horse patrol and police prevented them, dispersed, and, as we have been assured by an eye-witness, subsequently charged the people. We could learn that they even used their swords and sticks without ceremony or caution. Shortly afterwards the *favoured band* approached their idol, and, without the slightest interruption, were permitted not only to undress the statue, but to annoy the respectable neighbourhood with the most boisterous yells and imprecations, No carriage or vehicle of any description was permitted to pass without the drivers taking off their hats to the god of Orange idolatry. A melancholy occurrence took place in consequence of the clamour thus kept up. It unfortunately happened that a car of Mr. Casey’s was passing, and before the carman could comply with the requisition of making his obeisance to King William, the horse ran off, frightened by the clamour which assailed it. The car came in contact with another car belonging to Mr. Darcy Burne, and, shocking to relate, the shaft of Mr. Casey’s car pierced the breast of Mr. Burne’s horse, a fine animal, which immediately fell prostrate in the street! It has been taken to Mr. Watt’s, but we regret to hear its death is expected. The carman of Mr. Casey was, we understand, flung from his seat; his head fractured, and otherwise severely bruised. Providentially, neither the family of Mr. Casey nor Mr. Burne was in either car. But both families might have been in them; the mother of ten children, the father on whom ten children depended for bread, might have been in either of these cars, and in them would probably

have met a sudden and fearful death; and yet, there are persons who assert that the dressing of the statue of King William is a *harmless exhibition*.

"At the moment we are writing these lines (two o'clock, A.M.), small, but noisy groups of Orangemen are standing in the streets, and disturbing the peace by their shouts and exclamations.

"We narrate these occurrences with unaffected sorrow. The reflections they naturally suggest we must postpone until our next."

MR. O'CONNELL ON CIRCUIT.

During the summer of this year, Mr. O'Connell, at one of the assize towns of his circuit (the Munster circuit), being as usual in great request among the solicitors of the multitude of unfortunate creatures, whom the misery of the country, and the oppressions of bad laws, and worse administrators of them, had driven into the commission of offences of various degrees and descriptions, was offered a retainer from the solicitor of a man accused of having plundered some plantations belonging to a rich proprietor of the neighbourhood. The evidence against his client was expected to be of the clearest kind—being that of no less than three servants of the injured party—the gamekeeper, the butler, and a labourer, who had all three assisted in capturing the offender in the very act of committing the depredation.

In the face of such evidence it appeared to Mr. O'Connell impossible to do anything, towards saving the man from punishment, however severe the latter might be, and disproportioned to the degree of criminality to be attached to such an act of a poverty-stricken wretch. Severity of the most relentless nature was the sad characteristic of the administration of justice in those times, and Mr. O'Connell was not likely to have refused his exertions towards giving the offender some chance of escape, did a chance appear to him at all possible. But as we have said, he was so thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of rendering the man any service, that his first motion was to refuse undertaking the defence, and he accordingly sent back the retaining fee, advising that it should be applied in some more useful way than in engaging counsel, who could not give value for it.

He was sitting in court the morning after his refusal, attending to his other business, when he was suddenly accosted in a very sharp tone by the solicitor for the accused, who demanded to know whether it was the fact that he declined the cause. Being answered that it was, and the simple reason being stated, that matters looked so entirely hopeless, as to render the feeing of counsel nothing better than a mere waste of the prisoner's money; the solicitor, in still greater anger than before, declared that Mr. O'Connell had no right to refuse in the case, and that he would insist upon his accepting the fee and undertaking it.

"Oh," said Mr. O'Connell, "there is not the slightest necessity for you, putting yourself into a passion about the matter. If you will insist on my receiving these fees, notwithstanding that I tell you I cannot give you value for them, have it your own way. I am quite satisfied since you are, and I will make the matter up."

He did so accordingly, and the case being presently gone into, counsel for the prosecution contented himself with a short statement of facts, and mentioned his having in court three witnesses, whom he would immediately produce, who had all been at the capture of the man in the very act of robbing the plantations.

"Get two of them out of court, Mr. O'Connell, while one is under examination," whispered the solicitor.

"No, no," was Mr. O'Connell's reply—"they shall all remain in—it is our only chance, as you will see."

The first of the three witnesses that appeared on the table was the butler. He was evidently full of his story, and very particularly anxious to attribute the chief part of the credit to himself. Mr. O'Connell marked his victim at once, encouraged him on cross-examination, to tell his tale with all the pomposity and circumstantiality he was inclined to; and then, by a few pointed questions, involved him in such a mass of inconsistencies and contradictions, as utterly to invalidate his testimony.

When, at length, he allowed him to escape in confusion from the table, the second witness—the labourer—was called up, and here the wisdom of not insisting on having the witnesses out of court, became at once apparent. The second witness had, of course, heard the evidence of the first, and although not quite pleased at the lion's share of the merits in the capture, which the worthy butler had sought to arrogate to himself, had yet too much interest in the success of the prosecution not to endeavour to support him. Accordingly, instead of confining himself to the plain simple narration of the event as it actually occurred, he turned all his attention to seeking to explain away, or reconcile the inconsistencies of his predecessor, and, of course, only succeeded in making the matter worse, when he became to be cross-examined. He left the table in a state of greater *botheration* than even the butler.

The third witness—the gamekeeper—not at all frightened by the discomfiture of the others, now appeared, and his plight was speedily even worse than theirs. He, too, having heard all the preceding evidence, &c., laboured to do away with its inconsistencies, a task the more difficult as they had so multiplied under the second cross-examination. Mr. O'Connell upset him most completely, and, at length, by skilful badgering and tormenting, brought him to such a state, that the following colloquy passed between them :—

"Now, will you answer me one question more, and then, perhaps, I'll have done with you?"

"Oh, if it's only one question more and you'll let me go then, I'll answer it *my way you like!*"

"Very well now, remember you said so. Now, by virtue of your oath, *isn't he prisoner innocent?*"

By virtue of my oath he is!"

It is needless to say the man was acquitted, and Mr. O'Connell left the court in high amusement at having so unexpectedly earned the fee, which he had at first so scrupled to accept.

His skill in conducting a defence was tested in a more meritorious and a graver case much about the same time, on the same circuit. He was engaged on behalf of a man accused on the testimony only of a young boy, of having been a principal in a savage agrarian murder which had occurred a few weeks previously. The evidence of the boy was clearly and distinctly given, and for some time Mr. O'Connell was unable to elucidate anything that appeared to hold out a hope for his client. At last the too great readiness of the boy gave an advantage. He had stated that he identified the prisoner by a mark upon one of his cheeks. That there was such a mark needed only a look at the man to establish. But Mr. O'Connell, without allowing his object to be seen, drew the boy out on the subject, until he specified the *right* cheek as that on which the mark was, and got him two or three times over to repeat the specification, after, in each interval, distracting his attention by asking questions on some indifferent matters. The mark proved to be on the *left* cheek, and this discrepancy, pressed in the speech to evidence of the counsel for the prisoner, saved the prisoner's life.

Justice was not defeated thereby; the accused being really innocent, which was fully

established a short time afterwards, when the real murderer was arrested, and his identification completed by a similar mark being found on *his right cheek*. It was then seen that the boy had been misled by a general similarity of appearance, coupled with the strange circumstance of both men bearing such marks, though on different cheeks. The mistake as to "*right*" and "*left*," was accounted for by the position in which witness and prisoner relatively stood—the left cheek of the latter being, of course, opposite to the right of the former, and the marks thus appearing to correspond.

The niceties on which men's lives turn, in criminal trials, were never clearer illustrated than on the occasion in question. Had Mr. O'Connell not caught at this point, but trusted to the defence set up, viz., an alibi, to be proved by a Protestant clergyman, who had actually had the man employed at a distance from the scene of the murder, all the day on which the latter was committed, an innocent man would have assuredly been made a victim. The witness mentioned, *entirely broke down*, through his anxiety to conceal the nature of the business at which he had kept the man engaged on that day—the not very creditable occupation of making "*potteen*," i.e., illicit whiskey.

The first political speech that Mr. O'Connell made in the winter of 1822, was at a Catholic charity dinner for the Orphan School at Clondalkin, on Wednesday, the 13th of November, Lord Cloncurry in the chair. Like landmarks throughout his career, are such ever-recurring allusions as are contained in this short speech, to the one great object of his life.

MR. O'CONNELL, in returning thanks for his health, commenced by saying, that he was accustomed to public speaking, and could not, at least, plead want of practice as an excuse for want of perfection. (Laughter.) He felt most proud of the opinion which his noble friend had pronounced upon him. He did not aspire to greater honour, or to a higher ambition, than that he was *honestly* disposed to serve Ireland. When it might please the All-wise Disposer of events to call him from this life, he would be happy if it were inscribed on his grave that he was "*an honest Irishman*," and that his noble friend was the person who wrote that epitaph for him. (Applause.)

He delighted in every opportunity of meeting an assembly of his countrymen, and he delighted the more on the present occasion, as some time had elapsed since he could have enjoyed that gratification. He lamented the apathy which prevailed on public topics here, but was glad to notice an effort made for a great public good, and in a quarter in which, he would own, he did not expect it. To Alderman Nugent, as an Irishman, he felt unaffectedly grateful for his meritorious exertions in endeavouring to effect a REPEAL OF THE UNION.

'Twas true he differed, most widely differed from that gentleman in politics, *but he would forgive any man his injuries towards himself, or his general political line of conduct, provided he redeemed them by a sincere and substantial service towards his country.*

In England and Scotland great efforts were making for the

amelioration of the country. In Scotland, her delegates from her several counties were convened to consult for her interests and future prospects. In England, the great county of York, and several other counties, with their nobles and landed proprietors, had come forward and proclaimed their sentiments; but Ireland was sunk in slumber and despair. *He deplored most sincerely the fate of the unfortunate victims whose folly and whose crimes had driven them for ever from their native land.* As far as his influence could extend, he wrote and exhorted his countrymen to desist from secret confederacies and private associations. *The bond of such conspiracies was guilt;* the men who entered them consigned themselves to any man whom interest might instigate into treachery against them.

A twelvemonth ago he was aware that the "*Michael Coffeys*" were abroad, and he then, as now, strenuously and publicly besought the humbler classes to abandon all illegal meetings. His admonition was disregarded, but he would again and again renew it. These associations he regarded as the reaction of Orangeism, and he was persuaded there would not be peace or prosperity for the country, until the Catholic and Protestant united in putting down disaffection in whatever guise, or under whatever banner it reared its unseemly front.

Mr. O'Connell enlarged upon a variety of other topics, into which our limits do not permit us to follow him, and concluded a most eloquent and animated address, by pronouncing a handsome eulogy on his Grace the Duke of Leinster, and proposing the health of His Grace.

The legal peaceable principles of his agitation, too, are here again enunciated and proclaimed, as on hundreds of occasions before and since.

The allusion to Alderman Nugent, in the short speech we have just given, was drawn out by a reference to a then recent meeting of the Guild of Merchants, when a committee of their body were appointed, with the late member for the county Meath, Henry Grattan, Esq., and his brother James Grattan, Esq., at their head, to prepare a petition for the "**REPEAL OF THE UNION.**"

The following are a few brief extracts from the petition drawn up by this committee and adopted by the Protestant Guild of Merchants, or as they described themselves in their due legal title:—

"The Masters, Warden, and Brethren of the Corporation of Merchants, or Guild of the Holy Trinity, Dublin."

After dilating generally on the miseries caused to Ireland by the Union, the petition complained of—

"The constant recurrence (since the Union) to coercive measures, to violent acts of parliament, and to the suspensions of the constitution now grown familiar to the Statute Book. . . . The rejection of all motions for inquiry into the evils under which the country suffered—the want of development of the

general resources of Ireland, &c., &c. We could also show (it went on to say) how we have endured fever in one year, and famine in another and often both in one, and all patiently; how we were laden with taxes until their excessive accumulation proved our only relief, and our best friend; how the great progress which Ireland once was making was stopped by the Union, and all her improvements as a nation checked."

It protested against a repeal of the *habeas corpus*, against insurrection bills, &c., &c., and against a "constable bill" of that year, containing the monstrous principle of governing this country by a stipendiary magistracy, and an armed police—alarming and unconstitutional substitutes for a resident gentry.

It concluded by an exhortation to the House of Commons, to take into consideration the propriety of repealing the act of Union—"a measure which, carried by such illegal, such unconstitutional means—by the sale, notorious as it was, of all our sacred, our judicial, our political institutions—never could prosper, but must end in calamity, and recoil upon the authors of so much evil;" and the exhortation was enforced by reminding the house, that "the pressure of business upon you is too great, the inconvenience to Irish members to attend is too great, the wants of seven millions of people were too great."

There were in this petition grievous faults of style and arrangement, and a want of sustained force of expression; but the substance, coming from an *Orange* Guild of the city of Dublin, was sound and good, and proved how national feeling will sometimes break through the strongest barriers of miserable party prejudice and interest.

A question of a good deal of interest relative to bar practice was involved in the matter, which drew the following letter, published in the *Freeman's Journal* of Saturday, the 1st of December, 1822 :-

"TO THE PROPRIETOR OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

"Merrion-square, 6th December, 1822.

"SIR—There is a statement in your paper of this day, of an occurrence in the Court of King's Bench yesterday, during the trial of the cause of *Crowe v. Fleming*, which is singularly inaccurate. I request you will publish the following accurate detail of the facts :—

"I was counsel for Mr. Crowe at the trial of the first cause, instituted by him in the Court of Exchequer, and tried at Ennis in the Summer Assizes, 1819. He was unsuccessful, and the cause was at an end.

"He afterwards filed a Bill against Mr. Fleming in the Court of Chancery. In that cause I was not counsel for either party; Mr. Crowe had a right to leave me out, and he very properly exercised that right.

"He next instituted *this suit* in the Court of King's Bench, and issue had been for some time joined in it before either party applied to me. Mr. Hickman, the defendant's attorney, was the first to do so. He offered me a retainer. I at first declined to receive it, saying, that as I had been counsel for the plaintiff in the former cause, I was unwilling to be counsel against him in this. Mr. Hickman asked whether I was retained in this cause?

I said not. He insisted upon it, as the defendant's right, that I should accept of his retainer, and that I could not consistently with professional propriety refuse. I told him I would consider of it for a day or two, and that if ultimately I was of opinion that I was bound to take the defendant's retainer, I would take it as if given on that day.

"In the interval the plaintiff's attorney left some papers in the cause at my house. I told him what had taken place between Mr. Hickman and me. He immediately laid claim to the plaintiff's prior right to my services. I told him I could not admit that right. He asked whether I would refer the point to any other counsel. I said I would readily, to any one whom he should name. He named Mr. Edward Pennefather, and I said it was not possible to make a better choice.

"Accordingly, in a few days, the plaintiff's attorney called on me, and we went together to Mr. Pennefather's house. The facts were stated to Mr. Pennefather by the plaintiff's attorney, and upon that statement he decided *that I was bound to accept the defendant's retainer.*

"In that decision, of course, I acquiesced. I could not be wrong in submitting to it, but I must say, that I am convinced it was a perfectly right decision. The plaintiff himself does not think that he is bound to employ the counsel he had at the trial at Ennis, and in point of fact, there are two of those counsel whom he has not employed now, and who are not engaged at either side. The condition of the clients would be grievous, if they were under any obligation to employ in every cause, all the counsel they employ in any one suit respecting the same property.

"Your report of this morning makes me say, that I was *leading* counsel at the former trial. I was not leading counsel. Another gentleman was, and the plaintiff has not employed him in the present cause. You also make me say, that it was I who named *the arbitrator.* You perceive now it was not I; it was the plaintiff's attorney who named him. I pass over other inaccuracies.

"Your report will probably be copied into other newspapers. Those who copy it, if they affect fair play, will also copy this letter. I confess I scarcely expect so much candour.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

MEETING IN THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

20th December, 1822.

OUTRAGE AT THE THEATRE.

In December, 1822, occurred an event that has a place in the Annals of Dublin as the "bottle throwing" conspiracy. On Saturday, the 14th of that month, the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Wellesley, attended the theatre in state, and was warmly received by the audience, with the exception of a party of Orangemen, chiefly of the lower class, whose ire he had provoked by no great *practical* exhibition of impartiality in his government; but rather by a less than usual active favouritism towards the old ascendancy party. From groans and hisses the malcontents proceeded to open violence—and a quart bottle, and shortly afterwards a large piece of wood, part of a watchman's rattle, were flung, happily without effect, at the viceregal party.

Among other public demonstrations on this occurrence, was a meeting at the Royal Exchange, of persons of all parties held on Friday, the 20th December; the Lord Mayor (Fleming) in the chair.

After several speeches, Mr. O'Connell, having been repeatedly called upon, came forward, and, after the cheers with which he was received had subsided, spoke nearly to the following effect:—

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen—It would be very great affectation in me not to come forward at the call of my fellow-citizens, to express my thankfulness for the kindness with which I have been greeted, and to offer my humble sentiments on the present occasion.

And permit me, in the first instance, my lord, to express the delight which I feel in addressing your lordship as the chief magistrate of this city. Your career of office since the commencement, has been one of which every well-disposed man in the community must approve. It has been marked by an impartial administration of the law—by a meritorious obedience to the directions of the supreme magistrate of the country—and by creditable exertions to regulate the conduct, and stimulate to the execution of their duty, the officers and magistrates of subordinate station.

As to the event which has occurred, and which we have assembled to deprecate, I am satisfied that only one feeling of indignation, of sorrow, and of shame, can prevade the mind of every man in the country. It was an outrage without parallel in any former instance of wanton, unprovoked insult. If the accused be innocent, their acquittal will clear their characters from the foulness of the imputed guilt; if guilty, impartial justice will avenge the laws which they have outraged. To that law I am anxious they should be submitted; and sure I am, that whether innocent or guilty, I may be pardoned the vanity I take in my

profession, in the assurance I give, that they will be dealt with fairly, uprightly, and impartially. With that distinguished ornament of the bar and of Ireland, Charles Bushe, presiding in the Court of King's Bench, aided by Mr. Justice Jebb, by that admirable Englishman, Mr. Justice Burton, and by that excellent gentleman, Mr. Justice Vandeleur—there is not a country in Europe where justice is more purely administered, than in the King's Bench in Ireland. (Applause.)

Whatever, therefore, may be the punishment, it would be the award of justice. On this topic, or on any other, my lord, I am not disposed to use irritating language, and, if I were so disposed, the presiding presence of your lordship would restrain me from the use of it. I am not even disposed to animadvert with harshness upon the events which have, either remotely or immediately, preceded this last unparalleled atrocity. These events it would be better, perhaps, to forget ; and, taking this atrocity for an example of the baneful and dangerous excesses of illegal associations of every description, we should all unite and join in the universal inculcation of the salutary lesson, that loyalty, to be genuine, should be rational ; and that loyalty is not the peculiar prerogative of one sect or another, but is the legitimate and appropriate characteristic of all his majesty's subjects, of every class, every rank, every denomination. (Applause.)

Much polemics had been abroad in the world at the present day, and learned disputations had lately occupied the attention and no doubt edified the piety of the public ; but that religion is alone worthy the character of Christianity, which does not exasperate or divide, but which unites every man, and all men, in the bonds of brotherly love, reciprocal kindness and mutual benevolence.

If Ireland, with the richest soil, maintained the poorest people, if her prosperity had been marred, if her riches had been drained and squandered in foreign dissipation, it was because her children, instead of combining in effectual co-operation to consider how best that soil might be cultivated, how best that prosperity might be advanced, and how best her wealth may be distributed for the nation's weal, abused their time, and abandoned their duties in attacking each other, and running a dishonourable rivalry in their endeavours to tear their country into pitiful and tattered fragments. (Much and continued cheering.)

It was true, that great misery, as Mr. Leader had eloquently depicted, existed in the south of Ireland. And it was true also, that crime had been abundant there. The Irish peasantry, in

the insanity of their poverty and wretchedness, had taken up arms. In the dark hour of midnight, they prowled to the perpetration of horrible excesses. Of those I am not, God forbid I should be, in the most distant degree the apologist; however, it should be remembered, that their wants and their wretchedness were extreme; it should not be forgotten, not as a justification, but as some trivial mitigation, that the weight of misery pressed upon them so heavily as to provoke them, in some degree, to burst these bonds of order which, under any circumstances, it was their bounden duty to observe and revere.

But was it ever known of an Irish peasant, that in the midst of gaiety, of luxury, and of merriment, he became a murderer? Was it ever known of him, that in the moment of joy and gratulation, surrounded, too, by our beautiful countrywomen, whose presence it was the chivalrous pride of an Irishman to respect; was it ever heard that he degraded his name, his nature, and his humanity, into the character of an ignominious traitor, and a base assassin? (Cries of 'no, no,' and continued cheering.) And who was the object of this outrage? The man who was the delegate not only of the king's power in this country, but the delegate also of his benevolence, and the representative of his affection for Ireland. (Cheers.)

I am myself a reformer, I always avow my opinions on the subject of reform. I differ, respectfully differ, from the Marquis of Wellesley, from the sentiments which at the early part of his active and glorious public life he expressed upon that subject; yet, his distinguished services on that occasion could not preserve him from the outrage of those who affect all the loyalty of the land, and make that loyalty to consist, perhaps very properly, in an opposition to reform. I pass over his glorious administration in India, where he introduced the blessings of British law, and where the wisdom of his government displayed itself in the increased civilization of the people, and the augmented glory, strength, and power of the British empire. But that one of his eminent services on which I dwell with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, is, his conduct as representative of his sovereign in Spain. He was the person who had sown that seed which had risen to a magnificent tree, which, in the maturity of its growth, overshadowed the odious and abominable inquisition, and under the shade of whose spreading branches the forlorn liberties of mankind found security and shelter.

At the time when the armies of France threatened desolation to Spain, the Marquis of Wellesley was at Cadiz, and then

cheered the royal party there. "Cultivate," said he, "the affection of the people. Instil into their minds the blessings of good and equal government, and in the combined energies of an approving people you will find the best bulwark for your throne, and the best security to your dominions." This is the advice he then gave, and the wisdom of this advice, it is believed, is now felt and adopted.

It has been said, and I trust it is true, that his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, has added another ray to the star of his fame, by refusing to join the Holy Alliance in the invasion of peaceful and neutral states. May the admonition of the Marquis of Wellesley be the monitor of his decision!

In the same language the noble Marquis will now address his Majesty and the British parliament. He will point out the misery that mischievous faction has entailed upon the country, and assure England, as he assured Spain, that the best security to the throne and constitution is ever found in the united energies of a united people. And whenever the liberties of Spain are consummated, and Ireland made prosperous in the union of her children, the gratitude of the admiring world must surround the man, the wisdom of whose counsels essentially aided the one, and the fearless energy of whose impartial administration achieved the other. (Continued cheering for several minutes.)

It is our duty, my lord, to co-operate in the achievement of this goodly work. Let the Protestant join the Catholic in discountenancing the green badge of Ribbonism, and the Catholic, in turn, unite with the Protestant in abolishing the ribbon emblematic of Orangeism; for in the abandonment of every symbol of faction, and in the annihilation of every illegal association in Ireland, the peace and prosperity of Ireland can only find a commencement and a basis. These, my lords and gentlemen, are the sentiments which this occasion, and the presence of this respectable and thronged assembly inspire in my mind.

I am grateful for the attention with which I have been received—grateful, too, for the cheers which have greeted me—not for any idle vanity I take in them, but because they convince me that the sentiments I have uttered, find their echo in the approbation of all who hear me, and, still more, because I recognize in them the united and concordant sentiments of my Protestant and Catholic fellow-countrymen. I trust the union of this day may be perpetual. I fondly hope so, as it is only from the perpetuity of such an union we can ever expect to please the King, to make the people happy, or the nation great.

The learned gentleman sat down amidst the loud and general cheering of the meeting.

An address was brought forward by the committee, and for the first time, but not the last, Daniel O'Connell and the Orangemen's *pet*, the late Sir Abraham Bradley-King, were brought into friendly contact.

Moved by Daniel O'Connell, Esq., and seconded by Sir A. B. King, Bart.,

"7. RESOLVED—'That the address now reported by the committee be adopted as the address of the meeting, and that the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor be requested to present the same, in the most prompt and respectful manner, to his Excellency.'

"8. RESOLVED—'That the Lord Mayor do now quit the chair, and that his Grace the DUKE of LEINSTER do take the same.'"

The offenders in this "conspiracy," two carpenters named Handwich, and a shoemaker named Graham, were capitally committed, but a Dublin grand jury, of "*the right sort*," ignored the bills.

Early in the summer of the year, the summary of whose *public* events, connected with Mr. O'Connell, we are now concluding, he sent his family to the South of France, for the benefit of Mrs. O'Connell's health. They embarked at Dublin for Bordeaux, and thence proceeded to the town of Pau, in the department of the Basses Pyrenees, to await his coming.

In the month of August, he was enabled to leave Ireland to join them, and, proceeding by Dover and Calais, first visited his relative, General Count O'Connell, in Paris. During his journey thence through France, to the southward, a trifling incident occurred, which afforded him much amusement.

One of his fellow-passengers in the Diligence was a French sea-captain, whether of the naval or the merchant service did not appear. He was a fine well-looking man, of prepossessing appearance and manner, until, after being in the vehicle some time, he found out that he was in company with what he supposed an *Englishman*; at once his whole demeanour changed—very possibly with the recollection of some injuries sustained at sea from English cruisers—and he commenced, and kept up, a continued fire of abuse and denunciations of the English, and everything belonging to them.

From time to time he paused, as if to see what effect his violence might have on the *Englishman*, as he conceived Mr. O'Connell to be. Provoked at the uninterrupted equanimity of the latter, and at, perhaps, seeing something like a smile upon his face, he renewed his philippics with greater virulence than before, but with no greater effect upon him whom they were intended to irritate. At length, losing all patience, he turned directly to Mr. O'Connell, and giving vent to a still more violent and roughly-worded *anti-English* diatribe than before, he asked him—

"Do you hear me, monsieur?—do you understand me?"

"Perfectly," was the quiet reply.

"Eh bien—comment, donc—have you nothing to say to me after that? Do you not resent my attack on your—country and your countrymen?"

"I have no cause to resent anything you have said, On the contrary, I think much of it is richly deserved. Besides, you have *not* attacked *my* country, nor *my* countrymen."

"Comment! Monsieur est Anglais—n'est ce pas?"

"Non, monsieur, je suis Irlandais, a votre service et n'ai nullement raison de me facher."

It still required a little explanation before the excited Frenchman could entirely comprehend the extent of his mistake; but the moment he did so, his demonstrations of hostility were changed to those of the greatest delight; and, during the rest of the time they were travelling together, nothing could exceed his politeness and anxiety to show his *Irish* companion every attention in his power.

The latter part of his journey Mr. O'Connell had to post, and had to encounter a less

agreeable incident than that just related. Having, through a misconception of his orders, been taken along the route to Bayonne, instead of that to Pau, and not ascertaining the error until just at the close of a most exhausting day, during which he had been keeping himself up with anticipations of immediately seeing his family, he learned, in answer to an inquiry as to the exact distance yet between him and Pau, that he was at the second or third last stage from Bayonne, and nearly forty leagues, by *cross roads*, from his real destination. The miserable right travelling to get back into the right road, and the long, long day of weariness that followed, were long most disagreeably remembered.

After a few weeks' sojourn at Pau, he brought his family to Tours, where he left them to spend the winter, and returned to his public and legal duties in Ireland. His son Morgan, who had now been two years returned from South America, accompanied him as far as Paris, and there parted him, to join the Austrian army, as a cadet in a light dragoon regiment.

THEATRE RIOTS.

COUNTY DUBLIN, 8TH JANUARY, 1823

THE outrage in the Dublin theatre, committed against the Marquis of Wellesley, gave rise to a multitude of meetings, besides that we have already noticed, at all of which addresses were agreed to, and forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant. The *county* of Dublin met at Kilmainham, on Wednesday, the 18th of January, 1823—the High Sheriff in the chair.

To one of the resolutions—which went to attribute the outrage in question to a "*conspiracy*,"—the High Sheriff a little demurred, as not being, in his opinion, a question within the object of the meeting. A gentleman present expressed his concurrence in the Sheriff's view of the matter, and suggested further, that the men were yet untried, who stood charged with the outrage, and their case might be prejudiced.

MR. O'CONNELL had listened with respectful attention to the objection which the High Sheriff had made to putting the resolution from the chair, and had also listened to the very respectable young gentleman (Mr. Hamilton, jun.), who had very properly stated his additional ground of objection and opposition to the resolution. He hoped, however, that if he were fortunate enough to remove the objections of Mr. Hamilton and the High Sheriff, he would have the honour of their concurrence with him as to the propriety of the motion being put.

The Sheriff's objection was, that the proposed resolution did not come within the limits of the requisition under which the meeting had been convened. He should respectfully submit, however, that the resolution was not only a part, but a *necessary* and an *essential* part of the proceedings of the day, as implied in the requisition.

They had met to address his Excellency—upon what occasion? Upon his escape from an attempt at assassination; and from a conspiracy of which the interchange of signals—the aggregation

of a knot of persons in one part of the theatre—their riotous deportment—the heavy missiles hurled—and their inflammatory printed placards, gave irresistible attestation. It was, therefore, impossible—plainly impossible—to separate that resolution from the object of the requisition.

Besides, he would respectfully remind the Sheriff that his constitutional duty was to put the resolution, although he might not accord to the sentiment it conveyed. He (the High Sheriff) would not be held, and was not, accountable for the resolutions that might be passed at that meeting. The responsibility of these resolutions devolved upon the gentlemen who proposed and seconded them, and upon the meeting in general.

With regard to the objection made by Mr. Hamilton, that the resolution prejudged the case of the accused persons, he felt that if it involved an undue anticipation of justice, he would be the last person to say one word in favour of it. To prejudice a case, two circumstances were necessary. First, that it should anticipate an event which was about to occur; and, secondly, that it should refer to persons who were concerned in that event. No name or person was introduced into the resolution, and therefore it did not possess that qualification of prejudging a case. As to that portion of it which stated the outrage to be an "attempt at assassination," it surely did not prejudice any case; as, by the admission of Mr. Hamilton himself, the capital charge was withdrawn; and, therefore, the question of assassination would not be discussed or entertained in any trial that might take place on the subject of the outrage. (Much applause.) But as they knew the outrage to be literally an attempt at assassination, they had a right to assert their opinion, belief, and knowledge. He (Mr. O'Connell) had himself heard the Marquis of Wellesley say, "Let the hand of the assassin strike now!" He had used the term of assassination, and he asked the meeting, could they, in truth and justice, do less than assert it also?

The Sheriff expressed himself satisfied with the reasons adduced by Mr. O'Connell, as to the propriety of putting the resolution, and it was accordingly put and carried.

Mr. Burne, king's counsel, next offered himself to the meeting, and, after a very animated speech, concluded by moving three resolutions, the first of which was, "to trace the late outrage to a desperate and disappointed faction, and to call for the interposition of the strong arm of the law to defeat its machinations, and thereby prevent the recurrence of so odious and disgraceful an atrocity."

The Rev. Tighe Gregory strongly protested against the general inculpation of the Orange body, by the terms of Mr. Burne's resolution.

The High Sheriff supported him.

Mr. O'Connell was convinced the High Sheriff would do what he thought was right. He was glad to find those persons who

had once been suspected of disloyalty, now ready to exert every nerve in proclaiming to the world their conviction that a friend filled the throne, and that a generous and merciful monarch was their legitimate prince! He dwelt on the necessity of putting the resolution, and solemnly declared that if any resolution, expressive of the folly of Ribbonism—of its madness and absurdity, had been under consideration—(and to these Ribbonmen he would say, “You are not Roman Catholics if you belong to a society collected together for the purposes of anarchy”)—if such a resolution were before the meeting, he would be bound to sign it; and he himself would borrow, if possible, a voice of thunder, to drown a Ribbonman, that should be heard from the Giant’s Causeway to Cape Clear. He thought the same necessity existed for expressing abhorrence at the illegal society he now alluded to. If the High Sheriff refused, such an act would be throwing his shield over those whom the meeting wished to condemn. He was convinced he was utterly incapable of countenancing any party whatever.

A warm discussion took place on this point, but at last the High Sheriff yielded with regard to it also; and Mr. Burne’s resolution was put and carried unanimously.

A committee was then appointed to draw up an address to his excellency—Mr. Hamilton, sen., Mr. O’Connell, Mr. White, M.P., county Dublin, Lord Cloncurry, Mr. Burne, K.C., Mr. Evans, and Mr. O’Neill. Retiring for a short while, they speedily returned with the address, which was read by Lord Cloncurry.

Mr. O’Connell then expressed his pleasure at Mr. Hamilton’s having nominated him upon the committee, where the utmost unanimity had prevailed. He had chanced to be the only Catholic on it, and was happy to bear his testimony, that there had not been a gentleman on it whose liberality had not exceeded his own.

He was also very happy, indeed, to remark the unanimity of the meeting. From one quarter only and in one instance, had there been observed any difference of opinion on the necessity of a strong and determined expression of public abhorrence of the late flagrant and vile outrage. The gentleman by whom that difference of opinion had been expressed, was in error (said Mr. O’Connell), and I feel happy in correcting him. He talked of the principles that placed the king upon his throne—the principles that placed him there were those of civil and religious liberty. (Cheering.)

I would tell the reverend divine that his Majesty the King sits on the proudest and greatest throne in Europe, because a revolution had hurled a bigot from his seat, to make room for

the present line of sovereigns. (Loud huzzas, which interrupted the learned gentleman for several moments.) The bigot who had been deprived of majesty, lost it, because he had dared to endeavour to enslave his people—to fetter them in the vilest bonds, and coerce the consciences of his subjects. (Cheers.) The magnanimous people flung the great despot from his exalted station. They drove him from his throne, and placed King William on it, upon principles which I most heartily applaud. (Loud and reiterated bravos, the assembly waving their hats.) And these are real Jacobins who, adopting the principles of the justly-dethroned King James, would vainly attempt to trench on civil and religious liberty.

Sir, I would be among the first who, in honest sincerity, would drink the glorious memory of King William, if it was not the custom in Ireland to affix ideas coupled with insults to “memories.”

I hope, sir, that this wretched country is about to look on a new day. With a climate like ours, shores indented by spacious harbours, every fleet that leaves our green island might be made the conveyances of such plenty, the product of our fertile soil, as would be sufficient to feed half the world. But, sir, we are otherwise employed. Instead of availing themselves of the great blessings bestowed by a bountiful Providence, Irishmen are busy in the pursuit of “discord,” under the name of “religion,” and unmindful of the sacred instructions of their God, who said, “Be known as my disciples, if you love one another.” I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the reverend gentleman will excuse *my preaching*. (Huzzas.) I trust he will excuse my transient usurpation of his calling. He has said he was no barrister; I am no clergyman. I have preached unanimity, however, and I would say to him—“Go thou and do likewise.” (Cheers.)

Lord Cloncurry was moved into the second chair, and the meeting separated in good humour, at an observation of his lordship's, relative to his different treatment that day, and on the last day he had been at a meeting there—the occasion when the then sheriff had him removed by force.

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

April 25, 1823.

THE time was now at hand when the *recd* Catholic Association—the association that in its organization, activity, and efficiency, so very far surpassed all the bodies that had gone before it, whether Catholic Boards, Catholic Committees, or whatever their designation—was to be called into existence.

Little did the government imagine what an engine was about to be set at work. Catholic agitation seemed to them, at that moment, to be sunk below contempt. The divisions of the veto, the continued disappointments of hope, in particular, the utter annihilation of the sanguine, and apparently most assured hope, the king's visit and fair speeches had excited; the impunity, absolute and unbroken, which was given to the wildest Orange excesses, had the most depressing and deadening influence upon the spirits of the Catholics, and few, very few, indeed, anticipated the extraordinary *moral resurrection* that was now about to take place.

The first-public symptom of what was coming was a meeting not regularly convened, nor by any means well attended, at Demsey's rooms in Sackville-street, upon Friday, the 25th April.

At this meeting, Mr. O'Connell thus shadowed out the great project upon which he had resolved to enter:—

MR. O'CONNELL rose to second the motion of Mr. O'Connor. He observed that much had been said in former times about the heat and intemperance of Catholic "leaders," as they were called, but sure he was that no intemperance could have placed Catholic affairs in a more melancholy condition than that to which they were reduced at present. (Hear, hear.)

If the Catholics looked back for years, he would confidently say, they would find that they had not the guilt even of a mistake to answer for. They were, in fact, accused of no misconduct. If their names were mentioned in parliament, it was for the purpose of bestowing some approbation upon them. Yet what was the reward of their conduct? A state of things more degrading, if not more hopeless, than anything that has yet been witnessed in Ireland. (Loud cries of hear, hear.)

"Under these circumstances, two or three measures appeared to him expedient, or indeed indispensable. First, some persons must take the trouble of managing the affairs of the Catholics. The people owe it to the country and to themselves, that if their cause retrogrades, it shall not be, at least, through utter and shameful negligence. They do not deserve, and they should not allow, the blame to rest for one moment upon themselves. (Cheers.) The Orangemen are sufficiently active: no man could accuse them of allowing opportunities to pass unused; they were ever found ready, not only to use them, but to abuse them to the uttermost, whenever it was in their power. They have their "admirable organization," as it has been called, their presses here and in London, their lodges, their enormous revenues drawn through pensions and places from the pockets of the people; and they have the undisguised sanction and encouragement of nine-tenths—no, but ninety-nine hundredths—of the persons filling the most prominent departments connected with the government of the country. (Loud cheers.)

“In this state of things it would certainly seem strange if there was no body of confidential persons to whom the people of Ireland could look, even for counsel—none to whom they could turn in their distresses and maddening sufferings, and crave sympathy and what aid there might be means of giving. It was dangerous to leave the people without some body of recognized friends of theirs, to whom they could at least give vent to their complaints. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. O'Connell) would, therefore, strongly recommend the formation of such a body of persons. Particular cases need not be referred to, but it would be useless to conceal, that if things went on in this country as they have recently done, Catholic life or property, would not, in a little time, be commonly safe, even in the capital itself. (Hear, hear.)

The learned gentleman next proceeded to point out the necessity of calling an aggregate meeting, as another measure rendered indispensable by the character of the times, and also to show the expediency of a representation TO THE KING.

There was a fourth duty which he considered imperative on the body, and that was, an expression of the ardent and unqualified gratitude with which the entire conduct of Mr. Plunket, since his accession to office, has filled the breasts of the Catholic people. (Loud cheers.)

Meetings were now *coming thick*; so, without delaying with commentaries, we hasten to record them, and show how the foundation was laid for the great edifice that was about to be raised in the sacred name of liberty, civil and religious.

On Wednesday, the 30th April, Dempsey's Rooms saw another gathering of the chief Catholics, to arrange as to the resolutions which were to be brought forward at the intended Catholic aggregate meeting.

The following is the brief account of the main part of it, as given in the journals of the day, with the requisition on which the aggregate meeting was summoned.

After Sir Edward Bellew had been moved to the chair, and had briefly alluded to the business that had brought them together, and Mr. Shiel had also spoken upon the subject, Mr. O'Connell was called upon.

Among a variety of other remarks,

MR. O'CONNELL observed that he came forward with the utmost deference to tender his advice. It was a time when all who considered they could offer anything of benefit to the common interest, were bound, in conscience and duty, to come forward. As for himself, his first and last recommendation to his afflicted countrymen would be, to take the management of their own affairs, and to proceed in that management with firmness and unanimity. (Cheers.)

They saw the wretched condition to which their cause had been reduced. No one ought to be surprised at it: there was

nothing out of the ordinary course of things in it : it was just that condition to which must be reduced the concerns of any men, or set of men, deluded enough to put their trust in the agency of others. (Hear, hear.)

As to firmness and unanimity, if ever these qualities were desirable, were necessary in the affairs of an unfortunate people, assuredly this is the time when there is the utmost need of their exhibition and maintenance. The Catholics had opposed to them a faction as weak in intellect certainly as it was despicable in principle ; but despicable as it was, simple contempt of it was not safe. It was formidable, most formidable, not of itself, but inasmuch as it was backed and supported by power. (Hear, hear, hear.) However contemptible the faction was in numerical strength, no one would dispute that it had not only arranged itself in the most envenomed hostility against every thing that could be called liberal in principle, and that was deemed essential to popular right ; but had been hitherto able to sustain itself, though opposed by the sovereign authority itself. (Hear, hear.)

He thought it the duty of the aggregate meeting to pass, on behalf of Mr. Plunket, a resolution declaratory of their gratitude and entire confidence, and that it should be couched in as ardent and unqualified terms as the language could afford. (Loud applause.) He looked upon Mr. Plunket as having been made a perfect martyr to his public duty. He was now actually standing the brunt of a persecution, more audacious, more persevering, and more inveterately malignant than any other person, public or private, even in this country of persecution, had ever before to encounter. (Cries of hear, hear.)

If Mr. Plunket is suffering, has suffered, or is doomed to remain a lasting object of factious rancour, it is because he has endeavoured to break the chains of his Catholic countrymen. (Hear, hear.) Did he only consent to desert his duty like others, to basely betray the cause he had pledged himself so devotedly to serve, there is no one who would stand higher in the estimation of faction than Mr. Plunket.

After inveighing in very animated terms against the conduct of those who described Mr. Plunket as a tyrant, and stating the case in which the late Attorney-General filed an *ex-officio* information after the bills had been ignored (the case of the *bottle-throwers*), he proceeded to remark, that if a lawless press traduced him publicly and privately—he would repeat, that if (as the fact was) Mr. Plunket were now persecuted in all ways, with a

savage malignity for which there is no parallel in the history of party in this or any other country, it was because he had not abandoned his duty towards the sacred cause of religious freedom.

When Mr. O'Connell had concluded, a committee of eleven was appointed to prepare the resolutions and the address. The gentlemen named were, Sir E. Bellew, Daniel O'Connell, John Howly, *Eneas M'Donnell*, Cornelius Lyne, Hugh O'Connor, A. Strong Hussey, Lawrence Clinch, T. M'Donnell, Purcell O'Gorman, and William Murphy.

" AGGREGATE MEETING.

" TO N. P. O'GORMAN, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

" April, 1823.

" We, the undersigned, request that you will, on the earliest day that may be convenient, call an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, in Dublin, to take into consideration such constitutional measures as ought to be adopted in the present unprecedented posture of Catholic affairs.

Netterville.	Lawrence Finn.	Mark Malone.
Killeen.	Thomas Furlong.	Edward Conlan.
Thos. Esmonde, Bart.	William Shine.	Peter Chamberlaine.
Sir E. Bellew.	S. Young.	Robert Walsh.
John Burke, Bart.	Joseph Plunket.	Andrew Ennis.
Gonville Ffrench.	James Keating.	Patrick Keely.
Cornelius Lyne.	Robert James Staunton.	George O'Neill.
Kean Mahony.	Hugh O'Connor.	John Ennis.
John Murphy.	Val. O'Connor.	Hugh M'Donald.
Edward White.	N. Power, co. Waterford.	John Walsh.
Michael Corcoran.	Patrick Costello.	Hugh O'Loughlen.
Richard Corballis.	J. M'Namara, co. Clare.	Francis M'Donnell.
David Lynch.	John Howly, jun.	Charles Cavanagh.
Thomas Fitzgerald.	O'Conor Don.	Stephen Woulfe.
William Forde.	Patrick Grehan.	John Power.
Michael Hughes.	Michael O'Loghnan.	Maurice O'Connell, Dar-
John Burke.	John Fox.	ryne.
Edward Hogan.	James Corballis.	Daniel O'Connell.
J. P. Nugent.	Richard O'Gorman.	John O'Connell, Grena
Roger Hayes.	John Mac Laughlin.	Killarney.
William Murphy.	John Joseph Scanlan.	Richard Shiel.
John Donohue.	Pierce Ronayne.	Elias Corbally.
William Conlan.	Daniel Ferrall.	Michael Roche.
Patrick Oliver Plunket.	Michael O'Brien.	Jonathan Lynch.
Bryan Cogan.	James J. Callanan.	Henry Lambert.
Thos. M'Donnell.	Anthony Browne.	J. P. Corballis.
Patrick Scanlan.	Thomas Chamberlaine.	Eneas M'Donnell.
John Fitzpatrick.	Christopher M'Donnell.	Thomas C. Daffy.
D'Arcy Ayre.	Michael Sweetman.	James O'Shaughnessy.
Thomas Talbot.		John Burke.

Patrick Waldron.
 Robert Molloy.
 Brian Molloy.
 James Conolly.
 James Troy.
 Henry O'Hara.
 Anthony O'Brien.
 John Thomas Power.
 Joseph Dwyer.
 John Byrne.
 John Costigan.
 Luke Dillon.
 John Delany.
 Patrick Donohue.
 John Redmond.
 Thomas Merrin.
 Bartholomew Murphy.
 Lawrence Clinch.
 L. H. Nangle.

Richard Dunkett.
 Patrick O'Hara.
 James O'Connell, Lake-
 view, Killarney.
 Patrick James Harte.
 Myles Staunton.
 Cornelius Mac Laughlin.
 Nicholas Mahon.
 Christopher Fitzsimon.
 John O'Brien.
 Thomas Mahon.
 Peter Daly.
 William Granger.
 Thomas Roche, Limerick.
 James Esmonde.
 James Sugrue.
 Dominic Ronayne.
 James Edmund Byrne.
 Michael Walsh.

John Corley.
 Patrick O'Donnell.
 James Rossiter.
 James Charles Bacon.
 Patrick Beaghan.
 James Egan.
 Philip Molloy.
 Thomas Dwyer.
 Michael Powell.
 John M'Dowell.
 John Walsh.
 John Malone.
 Francis Brophy.
 W. H. Beglian.
 James Ennis.
 Joseph Denis Mullen.
 John J. Burke, M.D.
 Charles Mac Donnell.
 Maurice King.

"Pursuant to the above requisition, I hereby require a general meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, to be held in Dublin, on Saturday, the 10th day of May next, at the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon, for the purposes in the said requisition mentioned.

"NICHOLAS PURCELL O'GORMAN,
 "Harcourt-place, Merrion-square,
 "Secretary to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

"The meeting will take place at Townsend-street Chapel."

According to the terms of this requisition, the Catholics assembled at the place and time indicated—Lord Killeen in the chair.

"MR. O'GORMAN read a letter he had received from the Earl of Donoughmore, stating that in consequence of the late event respecting the Catholic question in the House of Commons, he thought it more prudent to await the result of the intended aggregate meeting, than present to the House of Lords the petition with which his Catholic countrymen had honoured him.

"SIR E. BELLEW then reported the address from the committee appointed at the preparatory meeting; and it was read, and unanimously agreed to.

"MR. HUGH O'CONNOR having moved the adoption of the following resolution, viz. :—

"RESOLVED—'That the Right Honourable William Conyngham Plunket is entitled to our warmest gratitude and confidence, for the zeal, eloquence, and sincerity with which he has uniformly sustained our cause. That we recognize his just claims to the most faithful support and attachment of the Catholics of Ireland; and look forward with sentiments of exultation to his ultimate and entire triumph over those enemies to public justice and repose, who have arrayed themselves in hostility to that liberal and enlightened policy of which he is so powerful an advocate.'

MR. O'CONNELL, upon seconding this resolution, spoke 'o the following effect :—

He would not promise to be brief, for he never felt his mind

big with so many topics that should be addressed to his beloved fellow-countrymen, the Catholics of Ireland.

These topics were so numerous, and of such mighty import that he knew not where to commence, or when he should have done.

The Catholics were called upon, by present circumstances, to do something for their country, unless they were content to be abandoned by their friends, or trampled down by the infuriated rancour of a vile faction. We live (said the learned gentleman) in the richest country in the universe, and amongst the poorest people. Admirably situated for a ready intercourse with all parts of the world; our coast everywhere indented with excellent harbours, affording shelter against every wind; its soil fertile to a proverb, producing ten times more than could be consumed by ten times its population—and in that consists the real riches of a country, for money is wealth, only because it enables its possessors to enjoy those natural riches; but in Ireland the superabundant produce was considered as great a curse as its superabundant population.

We have a beneficent and gracious sovereign, who, as far as in him lies, has done everything for us; but has been able to effect nothing, because the blighting voice of intolerance and persecution has been raised, to check in its growth every patriotic feeling, every sentiment of liberality, unanimity, and mutual good will.

It was said, indeed, that this should be the case with a country possessing every natural capability of being great and happy—a country remarkable for the ready intellect and mental qualifications of her sons, which, improved by the blessings of a sound education, might be rendered so eminently conducive to her prosperity and lasting tranquillity. As a proof of the high nature of these qualifications, he might, he conceived, without any sacrifice of Christian principle, turn the tables upon some portion of the holy hypocrites, and their shameless abettors, who were accustomed to abuse this country. The Lancasterian system of education had been founded in England for educating children up to the age of fourteen years; it was introduced into Ireland, and it was found that here the children had, by the eighth year, consumed the entire of the system. This was not a solitary instance of the disposition and abilities of Irishmen—they were universal; and yet it was the fashion amongst a portion of their own countrymen to decry them as intractable, wild, and insensible to the comforts of civilization; and in this spirit did the learned hypocrites of the Kildare-street Association

suppress, in their report, the fact he had just stated, though they had first agreed upon mentioning it—yet they afterwards struck it out of their printed annual report.

He should deal openly with all parties, and would, therefore, state his authority : it was Mr. Jackson, the secretary of the association and a respectable barrister.

Irishmen never combat to be upon a *level* with, but always *above* their competitors. (Hear, hear.) There was not an army in Europe but was led by Irishmen ; there was not a corner of the world but resounds with their achievements. When Maria Theresa founded a new order of honour and merit, out of the first *fifty* officers who received the decoration, no less than forty-two were Irishmen.

And why are they not more generally celebrated in the service of their country ? Let the intolerant, persecuting bigot answer. All they want, Cobbett says, is “ a clear stage and fair play.” (Hear, hear.) But that clear stage they had hitherto been insultingly refused.

Did those who so foully and insolently calumniated their fellow-countrymen show, by their conduct, any real anxiety for the improvement of the latter ? What efforts towards such an end had they made that could at all justify them in adopting the tone of censorship ? Were the misguided peasantry to be admonished, and weaned from their illegal and destructive courses, by the example of the so-called *loyal* writers in the Orange press—ever advocating courses the most violent, wicked, and destructive ? Were the people to be educated by these parties out of all bad passions ? Were they exhorted to love and respect one another, and to study their own and their country’s good ? Were these the doctrines inculcated by the education societies, legislating through the means of parliamentary agents ? The reverse was, unhappily, the case. A *bribe* was held out to the child to desert his parent, and encourage him to turn into ridicule the minister of his faith, and to profane the name of his redeeming God, by proclaiming religion the watchword to disseminate eternal hate and destruction to his fellow man, on account of a difference of creed.

I ask, what can be assigned as the cause of this monstrous and unnatural inveteracy of bigotry on the one side, and of the spirit of insubordination and wild outrage on the other ? The answer is not far, nor hard to find. The cause of this distracted state of our land, and of the dwellers in it, is to be traced and found in the long, long series of misrule and misgovernment by

another country. I thank my God, no man can say these circumstances have resulted from the Irish governing themselves! (Hear, hear, hear.)

I now turn to a more pleasing topic: none of this mismanagement is attributable to our present Irish government, but the preceding *piebald* administration. As far as the King himself is concerned, no patriot the most ardent could testify a truer anxiety for the alleviation of our misfortunes. (Hear, hear, and loud and continued applause.) He came the first of his race amongst us, in the spirit of peace, and for the promotion of unanimity and concord, as far as his own example could go. It was then I, for once, saw union amongst all classes of Irishmen; and, oh, blessed sight! may I witness it again. (Hear, hear.) Then man was in natural communication with his fellow-man; and Irishmen apparently enjoyed that which their country has so long needed—that which she now so sadly needs—a union of feeling and of sentiment.

As there has been talk about the faults of the Irish people, let us fairly investigate who are really to blame for the dissipation of Ireland's hopes.

We (the Catholics) met to make arrangements for receiving our King, and we were ignorant of his conciliating intentions towards Irishmen; but from our inherent love and loyalty to the throne, we determined on giving him the warmest and most affectionate reception on his coming amongst us. We were in consultation in Earl-street, when Mr. Barret Wadden (that respectable gentleman who was lately examined before the House of Commons) was announced as having an important communication to make. He informed us there was a disposition on the part of the corporation and Protestants to unite with their Catholic fellow-citizens in measures for giving his Majesty such reception as would be agreeable to him; and this was actually followed by the arrival of *Lord Mayor King*. It is well known we had never received anything but insult and contempt from a set of men equally selfish and equally stupid, who, to gratify their malignant feelings, decorate their marble idol, to celebrate the defeat of their own countrymen by a Dutch adventurer (laughter and applause); yet in the genuine spirit of conciliation we received the proposals of *even Abraham King*.

There were some amongst us, to be sure, more prudent than *Mr. Shiel* and *myself*, who accompanied the lord mayor to his meeting; and then *I* was *Daniel* in the lion's den. Some Catholic gentlemen held aloof, still doubting the sincerity of cor-

porate bigots, when professing liberality; they wished to see practical proofs of their reformation, and they received them—for the next day but one the *statue was dressed!*

We remonstrated, and something was promised. Promises are easy; and these were kept with as good faith as all the other engagements of the corporation. I did not believe their promises at the time, but I saw no use in telling them so. What noise was at this time about conciliation, and the wishes of the *King!* and who more vociferous in his professions than *Orange Abraham?* He was then A. B. King, Esq. It is to that assumed liberality, and spirit of conciliation, he owes his baronetcy; though he has the audacity since to avow and boast that his pretended liberality was merely a *surtout*, which he found more congenial to his principles to throw off immediately after; and, my lord, what faith can even his bigoted associates put in his professions, when he proclaims that his signature and assent to a solemn resolution was a mere farce?

Here is the sort of conciliation which the corporation have evinced, and which he, impatient of the unnatural disguise, could not keep twenty-four hours after it was professed. By reason of that hypocritical liberality, and dissembling with the Sovereign, did Mr. King obtain his present title. Has he not thrown off the covering of dissimulation, and proclaimed aloud his apostacy? I said it was to his professions of conciliation that he owes his title; and to prove it, I shall give you my authority.

Mr. O'Connell then read the following letter—

“ ‘Richmond Park, October 9th, 1821.

“ ‘MY DEAR SIR—I cannot forbear congratulating you upon the complete accomplishment of his Majesty's gracious intention to confer upon you the dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom. It was a most fortunate circumstance that at the period of his Majesty's visit to Ireland the high office of lord mayor of Dublin was held by a person of known prudence and discretion, who, by a happy union of moderation and firmness, was enabled, without the surrender or compromise of any principle, to conciliate the confidence and esteem of all parties.

“ ‘Allow me further to express the great pleasure which I have felt in noticing your actions, and at the late dinner of the sheriffs, your successful endeavours to promote that liberal forbearance and that true benevolence which you have so constantly observed and practised whilst in office.

“ ‘It is of the greatest importance to Ireland and to the whole empire that such an example should be implicitly followed.

“ ‘Accept my best wishes for your health and happiness; and believe me to be, with sincere esteem, my dear sir.

“ ‘Your faithful and obedient Servant,

“ ‘SIDMOUTH.

“ ‘To Sir Abraham Bradley King, Bart.’

At that period, I defy the tongue of malignity—the most shameless audacity of that compound of stupidity and slanderous villany (produced from the crazed brain of a reverend fox-hunter, and translated afterwards into better English by his coadjutor), *The Warder*, even to assert that anything was wanting on the part of the Catholics; I defy, too, the scribblers in that paper's creditable ally—that reservoir of baseness and calumny, in which truth never appears but by accident, *The Mail*; I defy their virulence—nay, I would appeal to their *candour*, if of such an attribute they could for a moment be supposed to be possessed, to point out any one occasion—any *one*, in which the Catholics, either in act, in writing, or in speaking, can be truly said to have, in the slightest degree, been accessory to the failure of our gracious Monarch's blessed work of conciliation!

And what has been the result of our having so meritoriously conducted ourselves? Need I ask you? Has it not been that our cause is abandoned, and that we have neglected our duty to ourselves? We have lain quiescent, and permitted the daily promulgation of Orange calumny, fearful of infringing the commands of our Sovereign.

We saw a portion of the English press (but certainly with powers equalling only the dull stupidity of the bird of night) teem forth monstrous libels, impeaching our loyalty. We saw the stall-fed church dignitary raise against us the voice of sectarian intolerance and bigotry; we saw our religion foully traduced, and ridiculed, and stigmatized; and we were silent, until our enemies were believed: and the Catholics have suffered accordingly.

But there is a point beyond which experiment becomes dangerous. The Catholics are men—are Irishmen, and feel within their burning breasts the force of natural rights, and the injustice of natural oppression. (Hear, hear.) Not merely the oppression of grinding statutes have we endured, but a monstrous attempt to pollute the stream of justice, through the interference of an *attorney-general* and a *judge*. Yes; I hold in my hand the damning proofs of this infamous conspiracy. I hold the copy of a letter which I deposited in the hands of our secretary. This letter was found in the street, and was transmitted to me by a Catholic clergyman whose name I shall not mention; for who knows but if I did, we should shortly have to send another petition claiming the justice and interposition of the Marquis Wellesley against the unmerciful and illegal decision of a magisterial bench? (Great applause.) I shall not,

therefore, subject him to the persecuting powers of sessional bigotry.

On the 19th of June, 1822, the letter I have alluded to was found in the street; you shall hear it read.

“CAPTAIN WHITE, R.N., here interrupted Mr. O’Connell, and observed, that as the letter was a private one, and not intended originally for the public eye, he conceived it was not candid to read it.

Mr. O’Connell replied, that objection would have no weight, for he had published it in the newspapers, and it had been a subject of observation in parliament. (Here there was a general cry of “read, read;” and Mr. O’Connell accordingly complied.)

The following is a copy of the letter:—

“Dublin Castle, August 9th.

“DEAR NORBURY—I transcribe for you a very sensible part of Lord ——’s letter to me:—‘As —— goes our circuit, and as he is personally acquainted with the gentlemen of our county, a hint to him may be of use. He is in the habit of talking individually to them in his chamber, at Phillipstown; and if he were to impress upon them the consequence of the measure—viz., that however they may think otherwise, the Catholics would, in spite of them, elect Catholic members (if such were eligible); that the Catholic members would then have the nomination of the sheriffs, and in many instances perhaps of the judges; and the Protestants would be put in the back-ground, as the Catholics were formerly. I think he could bring the effects of the measure home to themselves, and satisfy them that they could scarcely submit to live in the country if it were passed.’

“So far Lord ——; but what he suggests in another part of his letter, ‘that if Protestant gentlemen, who have votes, and influence, and interest, would give those venal members to understand, that if they will purchase Catholic votes, by betraying their country and its constitution, they shall infallibly lose theirs; it would alter their conduct, though it could neither make them honest or respectable.’

“If you will judiciously administer a little of this medicine to the King’s County, and other members of parliament that may fall in your way, you will deserve well.

* * * * *

“Many thanks for your letter, and its good intelligence from Maryborough. —— is a most valuable fellow, and of that sort that is much wanted.

“Affectionately and truly yours,

“WILLIAM S——N.”

What, he would ask, was the suggested attempt on the prejudices and feelings of the jury, compared to this shameless and secret interference of a law officer in the administration of justice? An accident threw in his way this proof of official malversation; but who could tell how many other and similar letters might have passed, and been acted upon? But in another world there is no statute of limitation against crime; and al-

though there may be impunity here, it may be answered for at the day of general justice !

The learned gentleman then informed the meeting that he had thought it his duty to communicate that letter to the present *Attorney-General*, requesting that he, in his place, would bring it under the consideration of the House of Commons. But an obvious delicacy prevented the right honourable gentleman's compliance with this request ; and, perhaps, he was the more to be esteemed for refusing to be an actor in a scene connected with so gross a violation of propriety.

But the matter was brought before the house by another member. When this occurred, the Catholics, in the pure spirit of conciliation, exerted themselves, and succeeded in inducing their friends in Parliament not to press it. What was the result?—what was their return for so doing? That kindly feeling has been met on the other side by making a jest of the term conciliation—by a violation of the privileges of the press, in calumniating the King's representative, because he dared to be just—because he wished to be honest.

For so daring, and so wishing, the faction turned their sensitive loyalty against the deputy of the monarch !

Are they not the genuine and *bona fide* rebels, who have thus scoffed and contemned the advice of their monarch, and the example of his representative ; and who seek, in fact, to achieve a triumph over both ? Do they not thus show how empty and false was all their parade of loyalty, when neither the personal injunctions nor the delegated authority of his Majesty can obtain their respect ?

This (said the learned gentleman) is the system of which we complain. This is the grinding tyranny we wish to abolish, that we may freely participate in the blessings of the British constitution, and that every man, no matter whatever his creed, should be co-equal in the eyes of the law ; that virtue, worth, rank, and talent, such as now fills your chair, may not be excluded by any paltry monopoly of the constitution from enjoying those rights granted to his illustrious ancestors, and withholden from him as a punishment for his conscientious adherence to their mode of faith—that he should not be stripped of those privileges which the law gives to the poorest of his countrymen.

A Catholic peer cannot vote for a member of the Commons' House ; and yet he is deprived of his rights in the other. Strange and most insulting anomaly ! and yet but one of the many such with which Ireland is afflicted !

While we were conducting ourselves, as I have stated, in the most faithworthy spirit of conciliation, our enemies, in their different lodges, in their black associations (for it has, strange to say, been lately acknowledged that a *black* corps forms a part of their enlightened and patriotic institution)—in their corporations—in their guild of merchants, that absurd and contemptible club, which has a name only to belie its legal description—that nest of agitators, which has of late forced itself into notice from its intemperance and arrogance, and assumed the privilege of legislators ;—those political corporators, while we endeavoured to conciliate, they persisted to persecute: while our hearts were full of peace and good will to all men, theirs were brimming over with the worst uncharitableness and malignity to their neighbours.

To turn to considerations less disgusting and sickening, but yet not without pain and disappointment to us, the recent occurrences in parliament ; I do not blame that uncompromising and zealous patriot, Sir Francis Burdett, for the manner in which he has thought fit to deal with regard to our affairs. But, though I do not blame him, neither do I approve of his determination upon them. But I am sure he intended honestly, although I may not think that he acted wisely. Would that I could say the same of others! Would that our weak and divided ministry were equally honest! For it is entirely impossible that men can be sincere who will compromise a question of this kind. There ought not, there cannot be any difficulty about it. It is right, or it is unjust. Those who think the latter cannot conscientiously coalesce with men wicked enough to promote an act destructive to the constitution. Those who think it right, their course is plain, and ought to be straightforward. They ought not to allow a doubt to lie a moment upon them: nor to give any advantage to the men who divide with them upon a question of right and justice—of the peace and the tranquillity of Ireland.

And will you, my countrymen, submit to this bartering of your privileges and liberties? Will you, like torpid slaves, lie under the lash of the oppressor? If we are not free, let us, at least, prove ourselves worthy of being so.

[Here the applause was so general and animated, that several minutes elapsed before order was restored.]

Shall the interests of *five millions* of men, excluded from the benefits of the constitution, be left to the mere eleemosynary

protection of their advocates in parliament, who, however well disposed to shield us from the persecution, insult, and injustice of our oppressors, have neither the opportunities of becoming acquainted with our daily grievances, nor the time to devote to the particular and peculiar circumstances of our situation.

Let it be, then, our care to attend to the management of our local affairs, and by the information we shall possess on Catholic affairs, assist our parliamentary advocates in bringing to the contest useful and important knowledge respecting our disabilities and their effects. When a Catholic association existed, were they not enabled, by addressing the suffering peasantry, to quell three different attempts at insurrection? If the Catholic Association had existed, would they not have been able to warn the unsuspecting peasantry against the villany of persons who had an actual interest in promoting disaffection; against the wretch who profaned the most sacred ceremonies of the Christian religion, in order to go to Belfast, and be enabled to lay the foundation of becoming an informer, and whom I traced a year ago, to the occupation of *alternate* informer to the proctor and the Ribbonmen? If the Association had existed, how many of our peasantry would have been saved to their families and homes?

Our advice would have been listened to, because it would have been known to be honest, and the country would have been spared from the infringement of the constitution, and the enormous expense of an additional police, with the irritation occasioned by sectarian yeomanry corps, which serve no other purpose than to perpetuate strife, and create a natural desire of revenge in the opposite parties.

If the government wanted a yeomanry, let them not select its members for their religion, but their loyalty. Catholics would be always found ready and anxious to enter into the bond of good-fellowship and union with their Protestant countrymen, the great majority of whom, he rejoiced to say, were equally desirous with the Catholics themselves for the extension of the blessings of civil liberty, and equally prepared to leave the corporate bigots to their fate. If no other object were attained by the formation of a Catholic association, the preservation of their present legal rights would surely be of signal importance, as in the case of the *freemen of the city of Dublin*. It was well known that Catholics were eligible for thirty-three years past to become free of the city, and he (Mr. O'Connell) some years ago endeavoured to prevail upon some Catholic gentlemen to assist him in establishing that right in the person of a man named Cole.

He could get no assistance, and he undertook the affair himself. He applied to the Court of King's Bench for a *mandamus* to admit Cole to the freedom of the city. It was granted; but before it could be acted upon, the poor man died. But he (Mr. O'Connell) could assure their honours there were many persons who were equally well entitled to their freedom, and, with the blessing of God, next term they should have it in defiance of the intrigues of the Orange corporation.

The learned gentleman in conclusion said: These are the sentiments of an humble, but ardent and faithful Irishman, who, after twenty-three years' exertions in his country's cause, finds her worse than when he commenced his labours; but who, loving new-born freedom with more ardour than lover ever doated upon his mistress, still clings to the hope of seeing his country great, contented, and free! (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

"SIR THOMAS ESMONDE seconded Mr. O'Connell's resolution, which was unanimously agreed to."

"MR. SHIEL supported the resolution for the establishment of a Catholic association. He differed with Mr. O'Connell relative to the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett on the occasion referred to; approving of that conduct, and declaring that he did not think the Catholic cause had suffered by the conduct of that distinguished person and his friends.

"The resolution for the appointment of a

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION

was then put, and carried unanimously.

A story has appeared in some publications touching on events of the popular agitation in Ireland, which we are bound here to notice, in order to correct a mistake.

It has been stated that the first idea of a Catholic Association arose in a conversation between O'Connell and Shiel, at the house of a mutual friend, in the county Wicklow, in the spring of 1823.

The idea, however, had originated long before the rencontre in question, and originated in Mr. O'Connell's mind. He had been for some time revolving it and maturing it in his thoughts, ere that event; and the story had its rise from the simple circumstance of his having first mentioned his plan of a popular association at a dinner party at Glencullen, the seat of C. Fitzsimon, Esq., the then residence of the late well-known and respected T. O'Mara, Esq., where Mr. Shiel was also present.

Mr. O'Connell then stated that his plan contemplated two classes of members, the one paying a pound, the other one shilling a year—the working committee of the body to be chosen from the former class.

This, it is needless to say, was the constitution of the late Repeal Association, and has been that of all the various bodies which have tenanted the Corn Exchange Rooms from 1829 to this day.

Mr. Shiel expressed doubts; he feared the plan would not work, and that the time was not very suitable for such an effort as the getting up a new association. Mr. O'Connell said he considered the time come, and that the plan would work—that, in fact, he would *make it work*.

He kept his word.

The first meeting of the "CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION" is thus introduced in the newspaper accounts:—

"Yesterday (Monday, May 12th, 1823), a number of most respectable Catholic gentlemen assembled at Dempsey's, in Sackville-street, for the purpose of forming an association to conduct the Catholic affairs.

"LORD VISCOUNT KILLEEN was called to the chair.

"SIR E. BULLER and MR. O'REILLY complained of a morning paper having published an incorrect and unauthorised copy of an address agreed to at the aggregate meeting, to be presented to his Majesty.

"MR. O'CONNELL defended the publication. The supposition that there was any irregularity in printing such documents before they were presented to those for whom they were destined, was quite erroneous. The rule applied only to petitions to parliament, because the legislature would not receive *printed* petitions."

At length the gentlemen who started and supported this captious *crotchet* having talked themselves out, Mr. O'Connell was at last permitted to take his *great* step.

"MR. O'CONNELL proposed that an Association should then be formed of such gentlemen as wished voluntarily to come forward, for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the Irish Catholics, relative to their political disabilities, and the means of having their grievances brought before parliament; and that the qualifications necessary for becoming a member should be the annual subscription of one guinea.

"MR. HUGH O'CONNOR conceived it would be more advantageous that the subscription should be *two* guineas.

"That being, however, objected to, MR. O'CONNOR consented to the original motion, which passed unanimously, and above *fifty* gentlemen subscribed their names, and paid *instantly*.

"Upon the motion of MR. O'CONNELL, it was agreed to hold the future meetings of the Association at Mr. Coyne's, No. 4, Capel-street.

"It was then resolved that it should be styled—

"THE IRISH CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

After which an adjournment took place to this day, Tuesday."

The details of his plan, with regard to associated members, he did not at that time bring forward, seeing the difficulties that met him with even the first and plainest steps. We shall presently have to show under what circumstances of opposition and difficulty he did at last disclose and establish it.

Upon Tuesday, the 13th of May, the newly-organised body re-assembled; meeting this day and thenceforward at Coyne's, the Catholic bookseller, No. 4, Capel-street—Lord Killeen in the chair.

A committee of regulation was appointed, to report upon Thursday.

A deputation was also appointed to wait upon his majesty, with the address agreed to at the aggregate meeting. It was arranged to consist of the Earl of Fingal, Catholic peers, sons of peers, two gentlemen from each county, and as many others as chose to attend.

The adjournment this day was to the following Saturday, when several new members were admitted, and some other minor business transacted.

Tuesday the 20th was the first day that anything of a regular debate occurred. On that day the Association met by a special requisition—Joseph M'Donnell, Esq., in the chair.

MR. O'CONNELL rose and stated, that as he was the principal person who procured the requisition for calling this meeting, he

thought it incumbent on him to state the object of the requisitionists.

Previous to the passing of the act providing for the appointment of a Catholic chaplain to the gaol of Newgate, the duty of that office had been performed gratuitously for a century, and there was no complaint of the want of spiritual assistance for the instruction or consolation of the prisoners. In former times the Catholic clergyman visited the gaol with the concurrence of the grand jury, because he had nothing to receive for his trouble ; but latterly, when the public were to be at the expense of a Catholic chaplain, none would be tolerated but those who grounded their claim to the appointment from want of capacity, moral character, or a renunciation of the principles of the Catholic religion.

The first appointment made by the grand jury was that of the late respectable and learned Dr. Murphy, because they knew he *would not serve the office*. The next was that of a Spanish priest, totally unacquainted with the English or Irish languages. After him a madman was nominated. Then Mr. Crotty was appointed—a parish priest residing in Limerick, who, the late Mr. Giffard said, could attend to his duty by coming up in the mail, when a wretched convict required his assistance to prepare for meeting his Maker. Had the grand jury appointed a *blind* man to teach the prisoners to read, or a fiddler for a physician, they would not be more ludicrous than those he had already mentioned.

Their last appointment evinced an equal anxiety for the religion and morals of the prisoners, by nominating a person named Morrissy, as a reward for his permitting his name to appear to a couple of pamphlets which he never wrote, abusing, in terms peculiarly gross, the Catholic religion.

But the mischief is not confined to forcing upon the prisoners improper clerical characters, or in the misapplication of the salary intended by government and the public as a reward for the pious exertions of a properly qualified chaplain, but the inmates of Newgate are actually deprived of the services of worthy and correct clergymen, who are either *denied admittance* in the gaol, or quite excluded from the room where divine service is performed. Now for such a monstrous abuse of grand jury functions, the Catholics had no remedy. The Court of King's Bench had been applied to repeatedly, but the judges were of opinion they could not interfere, as the appointment was, by the act of 1811, vested in the term grand jury.

The only redress they could expect must come from parliament, and at this moment he (Mr. O'Connell) thought it would be advisable to lay before the legislature a petition from the prisoners of Newgate, who complained of the want of spiritual instruction, representing to the House of Commons the gross misconduct of the grand jury, *and their bigoted and shameless interference to defeat the kind and benevolent intention of the legislature.* This circumstance alone would speak volumes as to the spirit in which the laws, wherever the Catholics are concerned, are administered by the Corporation of Dublin, and their officers, who studiously exclude from term grand juries, *Catholic gentlemen*, though eligible for the last thirty years.

It is (said the learned gentleman) a melancholy and sickening reflection, that men filling respectable stations in society, can be so filled with the spirit of bigotry, intolerance, and injustice, as to appropriate the public money to the purpose of encouraging, prolonging, and gratifying malignant party feeling.

Mr. O'Connell concluded by moving—That a committee be appointed to prepare separate petitions to parliament, for the prisoners in Newgate and the Sheriff's Prison, who felt aggrieved by the appointment of the present Catholic chaplain.

“ENEAS M'DONNELL objected to the point of form as to the shortness of notice of the meeting—and also objected that the association was yet not sufficiently organized to occupy itself with a matter of such deep importance.

“NICHOLAS MAHON supported him.

Mr. O'Connell saw no reason why the consideration of the question should be adjourned, when there were so many inducements, and such cause for an immediate application to parliament.

The present was a moment, when for the first time the attention of the legislature was called to those tangible facts that would enable it to form a judgment of the ABUSE and CORRUPTION of the Dublin jury system, under which the public money is misapplied, and the Catholic people deprived even of the rights given them by the existing laws. The object of the association was not to force on parliament the annual farce, or more properly, a triennial interlude of a debate on the Catholic claims.

Their purpose was with *practical and not abstract* questions—to shame the advocates of an unwise system, and, by exposing its corruption in all its branches, show that it worked badly and impracticably for the country; and he trusted they should have the assistance of men of every religious creed in melting down sectarian acrimony into a community of Irish feeling. There

were many grievances under which the poor and unprotected Catholic peasant smarted, that would not admit of waiting for redress until the day of emancipation arrived, and which might be made the subject of separate applications to parliament and the laws.

Such were the objects of the association, and he thought the particular subject now under their consideration was legitimately within this province.

The many serious and grinding impositions to which the Catholics were subject, and among others, that of Church-rates—this was a grievance that would come within the objects of the association: for it was not to be expected that the poor and illiterate men would have recourse to traversing a presentment, however well grounded their objections might be, as in the case of a parish in the county of Westmeath, where £700 was granted for building a church, and, afterwards, £200 levied upon the parish for the same purpose, *and no church yet built*, although *another levy* of £200 is about to be made. He should, therefore, persevere in pressing the original resolution.

“MR. FLANAGAN supported Mr. O’Connell’s motion, and observed, that the duty of the association was not only to obtain the rights that were withheld from the Catholics by the penal laws, but to preserve those which they actually possessed.

“Some other gentlemen having supported Mr. O’Connell’s motion, it was at last put, and carried with unanimity.

“SATURDAY, 24TH MAY

“SIR EDWARD BELLEW in the Chair

“MR. SCANLAN reported from the committee of regulation, and read to the meeting so far as the committee had gone in preparing the rules for their proceedings.

“Those of importance were—‘That the association be formed for the purpose of procuring, *by every legal means*, Catholic Emancipation; that the society consist of such individuals as pay the annual subscription of one guinea, and that the association will not exercise nor accept of any delegated authority or quality whatsoever; that no Catholic be permitted as a spectator of the proceedings at the meetings of the association, unless he become a subscriber. That persons of every other religious persuasion shall have permission to be present during the proceedings, but not to vote or speak upon any question, unless he be a subscriber. That every accommodation be afforded to the press.

“MR. ENEAS M’DONNELL and MR. O’REILLY were of opinion that Catholics should have the same right of being present as spectators with those of their dissenting brethren.

"MR. O'CONNELL objected to this compliment to Catholics, who would, he considered, be unworthy of it if they did not take a guinea's worth of interest in the Catholic cause.

"MR. ENEAS M'DONNELL, MR. LANNIGAN, and MR. O'REILLY contended against Protestants having a deliberate voice in the proceedings of their association, from their inability to form a disinterested opinion upon Catholic Emancipation, and the apprehension of persons inimical to their cause insinuating themselves into the meeting.

"MR. O'CONNELL, in reply, observed, that it was by and from Protestants they were to receive their emancipation, and, consequently, no one more capable of discussing and advising the means for obtaining than a Protestant; and as to the intrusion of improper characters, there was little apprehension of Orangemen flocking in with guineas to mar their proceedings.

"MR. N. MAHON supported Mr. O'Connell's view of the question, which, upon being put, was carried by a large majority.

"MR. O'CONNELL gave notice of a motion to consider the propriety of petitioning parliament against the church-rates, as paid by Catholics."

On the next day of meeting, the following Tuesday, Mr. O'Connell brought forward additional rules. We are particular in giving all these details of arrangement, as the plan and system of the Catholic Association have been that of all the associations since created:—

"That no question should be entertained by the meeting, or amendment put by the chairman, unless the same was stated in writing.

"That no member be allowed to speak twice to any question, unless the mover, who shall have the right of reply.

"That the object of the foregoing resolutions is to prevent, as much as possible, any debate or discussion but what may be absolutely necessary to ascertain the sense of each meeting.

"That the rules and laws of the association be posted up in the room, and also be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose."

The first "no house" of the new body occurred on the 31st of May, when at half-past three o'clock, ten members not being present, "the house adjourned," according to one of their recently adopted rules.

This regulation was soon afterwards made use of to thwart Mr. O'Connell, and increase the difficulties in the way of his plans, for working the cause with the new organization. We shall have to come to this speedily.

On the 8th of June, Mr. O'Connell redeemed his notice relative to the "administration of justice and church rates."

After some preliminary business, in particular the reading of letters respecting the address to the king, from several of the parties appointed to go with it, craving an extension of time, the business of the day was called on:—

MR. O'CONNELL then rose. He had given notice of two motions (the administration of justice, and justice in Ireland and the Church-rates), and he was at liberty to give precedence to which he pleased, he should, therefore, move on the administration of justice.

He congratulated the Catholics upon their unanimity of feeling, and hailed as a good omen for the cause, the establishment of a Catholic association in London; not for the absurd purpose

of discussing mere routine matter, but in order to wrestle with their grievances and oppressions boldly and effectually. As their English brethren had imitated them in the formation of the association, so he hoped the Irish would take example by them in adopting any of their regulations which might be thought advantageous; such, for instance, as admitting the Catholic clergymen to become members of the association without payment of a subscription.

In reference to the subject matter immediately before the association, he would refer to the speech of Mr. Hugh O'Connor, at the late aggregate meeting, to prove its mighty importance. The observations made by that gentleman, and the manner in which they were received by the assembly, afforded incontrovertible evidence of their truth and application. For many years he (Mr. O'Connell) had been complimented by too kind friends, as the most animated speaker of the Catholic body; but even were the fact as they would have persuaded him, in his life he never could have made so energetic a speech as that of Mr. O'Connor's. But why was it energetic? Because its force arose from its truth; because it portrayed, faithfully and strongly, the grinding evils with which the Catholics are aggrieved by the existing system of the administration of justice in Ireland; evils which no individual power could control, no judicial authority remedy, however well disposed to do so.

The course of proceeding best adapted to the interests of the Catholics, required the serious consideration of the association. Three presented themselves for their adoption.

First—that of confining themselves to the old practice of an annual petition to parliament, and to the association having its way, but taking such previous measures as might be best calculated to ensure its success.

Secondly—that of detaching particulars of the most operative grievances from the general and disgusting catalogue, and exposing them to the British empire and the world.

Thirdly—that of endeavouring to bring the Catholics to act with the reformers of England.

In fact, he was desirous of testing the Catholics once more, and seeing whether there were any ground for the accusation that seemed to be taken as an admitted and proved charge against them—that the iron had so entered into their souls as to make them averse to any, the most moderate self-exertion, and inclined to submit tamely to their evils, and timidly and basely to allow the Orangemen to trample upon and lord it over them—to revel

unchecked and unopposed in all the license of triumphant tyranny, bigotry, persecution, and the demoniac spirit of rapine and outrage!

Could it be said he used these strong terms without need; it was not a fancied sketch, but a picture of fearful realities; that of which the disgusting outline was so wantonly and so recklessly exhibited at the theatre on Wednesday night last. That place which was generally considered to be the temple of classic entertainment, and of refined and cultivated amusement; the haunt of the graces, and the scene of social enjoyment, was converted into a bear-garden, where the ferocious Orangeman taunted his quiescent Catholic neighbour, by insultingly displaying the insignia of past victory, and anticipated triumph!

Yes, triumph; for has not their grand master been permitted to triumph over the imperial authority of the Commons of England? has he not been permitted insolently to refuse telling the great legislative assembly of the nation, when they demanded it of him, what was the watch-word by which they hallooed each other on to the work of destruction?

The most calm and deliberate conviction of his (Mr. O'Connell's) mind was, that there must be something in their token of recognition *too horrible* to be *utterred*; and therefore it was, and therefore it could only be, that the legislature was suffered to be degraded—its high privileges to be contemned, and that authority which it has been so zealous to maintain, as to commit its own members for breaches that were but as pismires to elephants, when compared with the contumacy of the grand Orange martyr, Abraham Bradley King, Baronet and government printer, set at defiance with impunity. That there was some adequate cause for the unheard-of proceeding, it would be idle to doubt. Government knew why they permitted the authority of parliament to sink into utter ridicule; they were not so insensible to public censure as to declare that they had unwittingly fostered a system, whose object is now to root out of the land of their fathers, seven millions of people. (Cheers.)

What but the protection of that government (that government which Catholics pay and support), could have inspired the confidence to concert a project so insane, yet so horrible, that *neutrality* is now become a crime, and every Protestant not an Orangeman must sink his individual interest, and coalesce with the Catholic in extinguishing a faction whose purpose was so monstrous, and whose existence occasioned such misfortunes and misery to Ireland. They could already count some Protestants

among the association, and so late as the day before, a highly respectable one, Mr. Prossur, gave him his guinea, in order to become a member.

It would, he conceived, be the greatest absurdity, were they to continue the holiday farce of annually petitioning for general emancipation; it had become a mockery so repugnant to common sense, that it could not now obtain even that annual discussion which had heretofore paralysed the exertions of the Catholics, producing no result, save to have their hopes adjourned, and the creation of disunion amongst themselves. In bringing forward the abstract question, particular grievances were lost sight of, their best friends were confounded and confused, and a general misunderstanding was abroad upon the subject of their disabilities. They saw the *Edinburgh Review* repeat over and over, that there are but five-and-twenty offices from which Catholics were excluded. He (Mr. O'Connell) would defy the research of the reviewer to point out five-and-twenty Catholics who enjoyed the places to which it supposed them eligible. By bringing the peculiar grievances immediately under the notice of the legislature, they enlisted those who were particularly afflicted, and secured their exertions.

Why, for instance, should they hesitate to bring such a subject as that of Church-rates before the house, by a peculiar petition; that shameless imposition, whereby Catholics were called upon to pay for repairs of churches that did not exist, and contribute to the erection of churches which are never built—as in the case of the parish of Westmeath, where, after £2000 had been granted in the first instance, and afterwards several considerable sums levied off the parish, the foundation stone was not yet laid, and they were called on again for another levy of £800! Why should the wretched, naked, persecuted peasant be forced to contribute to this system?

He was aware that there was a number of Catholics who cherished a lingering expectation that the present government, from the known and general feeling of the House of Commons, would voluntarily come forward and administer the only remedy for the salvation of Ireland. Oh! these honest, unsuspecting, confiding, but miscalculating politicians! Little were they versed in the wily tactics, the perfidious duplicity, the unprincipled dishonesty of professional statesmen, who, however they may apparently differ on matters of policy, are always sure to pull together when there is a scramble for places and pensions! Could any man who was not the willing dupe of a perverted

imagination, deceive himself by hoping for any good from such an administration ?

When he exclaimed against the administration of justice, he should be wanting in sincerity, and, indeed, in common honesty, did he not declare, without dreading an imputation of syco-phancy, that Ireland possessed *some* judges who, with a proud satisfaction, he could hold up to the world as bright examples of learning and honesty. There was the *entire* Court of King's Bench, such as he never expected to have seen in this unfortunate country. There were also some virtuous and learned judges in the other courts ; he regretted he could not extend the approbation to all the judges ; but that which was the more immediate subject for their consideration was the construction of juries.

Over this grievance the judges had no control ; there was no remedy ; it was a part of that system of Orange sheriffs, with Orange panels in their pockets. When that appalling fact had been heard from sources which could not be doubted, were they not warranted in asserting that there was no security against the injustice of Orange intolerance—now become triumphant from ministers having given them up the country, in order, as it was alleged, to give no triumph to *either* party !

Did ministers expect to screen their pusillanimity by affecting not to favour Catholics at the expense of offending Orangemen ? The pretext was unworthy the character of the statesman who assumed it. Could they affect to delude any man of any party, into a belief that the struggle was not between the government of the Marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Plunket on the one hand, and the Orange party on the other ; and that the Catholics were more involved in the late struggle, than any other portion of his majesty's subjects who were not Orangemen, and who felt an interest in the preservation of the British constitution ? In his (Mr. O'Connell's) opinion, there never was a ministry calculated to effect such mischief to the empire as the present ; by having amongst them a few persons whose reputation and character secured to them a certain degree of public confidence, they were enabled to effect those insidious disgraceful manœuvres in which they were at last out-generalled and obliged to succumb to the Orangemen, under the specious terms of not giving a *triumph to either party* ; and how were they still further humbled, for, after the capitulation, the Orange conquerors boast of their triumph by proclaiming an accession of 20,000 to their number.

The learned gentleman concluded with assuring the meeting,

that among the few chances that remained for their obtaining emancipation, one of the only chances was to join heartily the reformers (hear, hear) in endeavouring to procure a change in that system, by which the great borough-mongering families were able to influence the returning of members for rotten boroughs, and thus perpetuate that oppression and misrule under which the country had so long groaned.

He was, however, aware that the Catholics were not yet prepared for that step, and he should for the present move for the appointment of a committee of eleven to petition parliament for the administration of justice in Ireland.

MR. O'CONNELL then moved, that the petition for the administration of justice in Ireland, should be confided to Mr. Brougham. (Carried unanimously.)

He then gave notice for an address to the Catholic people of Ireland, warning them against secret societies; he would willingly take charge of Mr. Lawless' motion, which was for the adoption of a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, praying his excellency to prevent any Orange display which might cause a reaction of the Ribbonmen.

In reply to an observation of Sir John Burke—

MR. O'CONNELL observed, that he had not applied any observation to the private character of the chancellor, nor did he speak of him in his judicial capacity.

He spoke of him in his character as a statesman; he said he courted the vapid applause of an eating club, where one of the toasts went, by inference, to include the Marquis of Wellesley among the exports of Ireland. It was for his conduct as a statesman that he had arraigned and would arraign him, until he should see the propitious day when he (the chancellor) should himself become an export from Ireland.

We jump for a moment from politics to law, to return to the former immediately. Such a course is not unsuited to a sketch of Mr. O'Connell's life, the habit of which for so many years it resembles; those years, when almost the only recreation he knew, was by a change from one engrossing occupation to another—from the Four Courts to the Association meeting—from thence to his study, to prepare for the courts again.

CRIMINAL INFORMATION.

THE KING at the Prosecution of MICHAEL O'CONNOR, Clerk, v. JOSEPH TIMOTHY HAYDEN AND WILLIAM GLYNN, Proprietors of the Public Newspaper called "The Dublin Evening Mail."

IN THE KING'S BENCH, JUNE 14TH, 1823.

MR. O'CONNELL (upon the same side as Mr. Goold) submitted to the court, that the subject before them necessarily resolved itself into three branches.

"First, whether the publication was libellous.

"Secondly, whether the persons libelled be such as are entitled to make their complaint as a public body; and,

"Thirdly, whether the conduct of the professional persons concerned for them, in directing the prosecution, has been irregular, and must be visited upon the aggrieved persons prosecuting."

* * * * *

The court in deciding the first position, were called upon to determine whether the encouraging of midnight assassination and atrocities of the most appalling nature, and in the worst shapes, were crimes, as it was for the encouragement of such offences that the Catholic clergy were accused in the libel, not under the guise of impartial discussion, but by a direct accusation; not weighing the probability of the charge, but convicting at once, and calling upon the public vengeance; for if any man believed the charge, must he not feel exasperated, and would he not be bound to exert himself by all legal means, and procure the punishment of wretches base enough to disgrace their religion and their calling, by the conduct here imputed to them.

Did not such a charge go to a direct encouragement of the lamented atrocities, by tending to occasion a relaxation of the exertions of the Catholic clergy, when they found their interference and their communication with the peasantry so maligned and misrepresented; and was he to be told, that for fear of agitation, the calumniator who works such mischief, should not be prosecuted; that the *priest* was to suffer, and *not* his *calumniator*.

The learned counsel, after commenting very forcibly, but temperately, upon the nature and tendency of the libel, went on to argue, whether the Catholic clergy were a body of men entitled to call upon the court for its protection from such calumny.

That was a question, he said, of mere law, and would be more properly argued when the case was before a jury, or upon arrest of judgment. The Catholic clergy, he argued, were recognised

and regulated by acts of parliament; they were liable to certain oaths in their ministerial capacity, binding them to the constitution, as well by gratitude for its provision, as by duty for its protection. The Durham case, he conceived, to be conclusive upon their right of appeal as a public body, for in the rule granted in that case, there was no use of the word *established* clergy of Durham, as relied on by Mr. Johnson. The rule could not apply to the *established clergy alone*, for no term was more indefinite or undefined, than the *established clergy*.

After arguing at much length upon this point, the learned counsel proceeded to the third—that of the conduct of the prosecutor having dealt unfairly, and disentitling himself to the information. He then read an affidavit stating, that he (Mr. O'Connell) wrote a letter upon the 1st of May to the defendants, informing them that it was intended to take proceedings against them for the publication of the libel upon the Catholic clergy, but that if they *without delay* gave up the author, and acknowledged the proprietorship and publication in one of the southern counties where the paper circulated, and where the circumstances were best known, that the proceedings against them would be relinquished.

Upon the 4th of May, Mr. Hayden, one of the defendants, waited upon him (Mr. O'Connell), and prayed time until Mr. Cooper, the author, returned from the country; that it was granted to him, and upon the 7th, Mr. Cooper wrote to Mr. O'Connell, acknowledging his readiness to stand in the place of the proprietors, but refused to acknowledge the publication in Kerry or any of the southern counties, and that through this ingenuity, the time was got over until the 17th of May, when it was too late to file an information, so as to have the trial in the next assizes, and that the author not having complied with the terms of his (Mr. O'Connell's) letter, he was at liberty to proceed as he had first intimated.

That his object in having the trial in some of the southern counties was, that those Protestant gentlemen to whom the conduct of the clergy was best known, might have an opportunity of proving and deciding on it. If the defendants had not the gratitude to thank him (Mr. O'Connell) for the liberal and candid communication made to them in the first instance, and the indulgence granted them subsequently, they should, at least, have abstained from charging the prosecutor with unfairness and misconduct, because he would not receive the author in place of the printer, *on his (the author's) own* conditions.

CHURCH RATES.

The transitions we have recently spoken of from politics to law, and law to politics, which so quickly succeeded each other in the everyday current of Mr. O'Connell's existence, are well exemplified at this stage of our sketch, when we have to give a political speech of his upon the same day that he made the law argument which we have last inserted.

It was at a meeting of the association, relative to Church-rates.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to move upon his notice respecting *Church-rates*.

There was, he said, no grievance which afflicted the peasantry more than the present mode of levying church-rates.

In the country the hardship of the system was intolerable, and pressed with a severity that made it no longer possible to submit in silence. The plan of assessment was equally arbitrary as inconsistent; as long as the levy was made for occasions which might not come immediately within the statute, but which were all reasonable, there was no complaint on the part of the people; but when the magnitude of the demands rendered compliance no longer possible, and that recourse was had to the remedy of seizing upon the little all of the impoverished peasant, then remonstrance forced itself from the still reluctant complainant.

Up to the reign of Henry the Eighth, the great burden of repairing and building churches fell upon the clergy, as also the support of the poor from the Church revenues, and so continued until the confiscation of Church property in England. It occurred in a few particular instances in Ireland, that special parliamentary grants were made for the building of churches; but this never occurred but from some peculiar circumstances, such as to suit the alterations of modern residence, or change the site of the church from inconvenience of situation, and this was not on more than five occasions up to George the Second. In Ireland, Church property, at the Reformation, was not confiscated to the same extent as in England, because the country adhered to the original faith, and the provision for building churches from Church revenues remained in force.

The first date from which Catholics can count the origin of their peculiar hardship in the management of church-rates, was the 12th George I., when they were for the first time rendered ineligible to *vote* at vestry meetings upon the subject of building or repairing churches, and the statute remains in force to this day; but on this point considerable mistake prevailed, for the intolerants would have it, that by the provision of that act,

Catholics were excluded *altogether* from vestries, whereas they were not prevented from delivering their opinions, or taking part in the discussion upon building of churches, but only from voting upon the question ; and that statute of the twenty-fifth of the late king, was further accompanied by the particular grievance, that though they might vote for parish cess, they could not vote for churchwardens, though they themselves were rendered eligible, and could be compelled to serve the office.

In the 3rd George II., how glaringly intolerant, persecuting, and bigoted was the provision rendering Catholic churchwardens personally responsible for the amount of the whole parish cess ; it was found useful, when the parish was composed of poor Catholic parishioners, to single out a Catholic of substance, and make him pay, by privation, too, of himself, for the poverty of his fellow-sufferers. Surely, Catholics were the most unfit people in the world for the office of churchwarden, part of whose duty was to keep order during the service, and to procure the elements for the sacrament. Now he (Mr. O'Connell) would remark, that the Catholic churchwarden's attendance at the service of his own religion might clash with his assisting at that of another, even were there no other impeding cause ; and from the opportunity this law afforded to harass and annoy a respectable Catholic in the country, it was incumbent upon the association to seek its repeal.

The peculiar grievance of the statute was, however, more sensibly felt in the strange and numerous *jobs* that were effected under its provisions ; the moment a Catholic rose to object to such proceedings, he was immediately silenced by changing to, or introducing the subject of church repairs, or church building, and told he had no privilege to vote upon such a question.

From among the numerous instances of misapplication under this act, he could mention one that had been verified by affidavit before the Chancellor and the Court of King's Bench, and which to this day remains uncontradicted. In the town of Mullingar, it was determined to pull down the old church, and erect a new one ; and it was the general calculation, that with the materials of the old, and about *one thousand pounds*, a new one could be built : and, accordingly, in 1813, an assessment was made of ninepence per acre, which produced the sum of £360 ; in the year 1814, another levy of one shilling and ninepence per acre, which produced the sum of £860, making with the former a total of £1220, which the parishioners thought was

quite sufficient for the purpose with the old materials ; but no, for in the following year another levy of £300 was made ; there was then in hands £1520, and by way of managing that sum with prudence, instead of building the church by *contract*, they very economically engaged to erect it by the day's work, and appoint an inspector of labourers at the salary of £200 per annum out of the pockets of the parishioners.

Finding the taxing trade went on so well, in the following year, 1817, another assessment of 1s. 6d. per acre was ordered. From this was received a sum of £740 ; but still they were not satisfied ; for in 1818, the sum of £740 more was levied. Well, one would have thought that by this time there was no decent pretence for any further levy ; but no such thing. In the year 1819, another sum of £740 was levied, and they had then an amount of £3,740. Still rapacity kept pace with the successful levies, and in 1820 a further sum of £1,800 was demanded, being an assessment of 3s. 11d. per acre. The clergyman, it was alleged, lost £400 in speculating on timber ; and poor Dibbs, the parish clerk, having a shell of a cabin that stood in the way of the new church, it was found necessary to induce him to submit to its removal by presenting him with £200 in lieu.

The frequency and amount of those levies became at length so alarming, that a gentleman having a few acres of land found himself, in 1820, called upon, in addition to all the former levies, to pay the sum of £10. He refused ; and, under the 45th of the late King, he was immediately distrained for his audacity. He was not, however, so passively inclined, and he issued a *replevin*. An application was made to the King's Bench, and afterwards to the Chancellor, to quash the replevin. The matter was decided for the traverser by the King's Bench, and the Chancellor refused the application of the minister with costs. Then the party got rid of the grievance, because he was spirited, and in circumstances enabling him to contend with extortion. But how many similar exactions took place every day, and nothing was heard of it, because of the poverty and ignorance of the sufferers. In the county of Louth, there was a case of still more flagrant injustice than the one already mentioned.

The people of England might well be astonished (and who was there but should be so ?) at the enormous offences committed in this ill-fated country : but their astonishment would be still greater, if they knew all the causes of irritation—and to which he (Mr. O'Connell) rejoiced they were strangers—producing those offences. However, he congratulated the country that

a decline of crime had already taken place, within these few weeks, *since the establishment of the Catholic Association*; and he trusted that, in a few weeks more, the *advice and good counsel of the Association, in holding out the expectation that there is yet a chance of constitutional liberty, and that as heretofore, no flattering voice of consolation had reached the desponding peasantry—they should now learn that there are men resolved to expose their grievances*; to exhibit to the feeling and generous hearts of the British people their long sufferings and accumulated wrongs; and that a paternal and gracious monarch, with a patriotic and benign viceroy, sympathised in their misfortunes, and were anxious to alleviate them.

Such were the means by which, he trusted, the Association would succeed in subduing outrage, and proving their genuine loyalty to the constitution, and their admiration of the Marquis of Wellesley's government.

The eloquent gentleman then went into detail of the erroneous remedies that had been applied by the legislature for the suppression of disturbances in this country. He instanced the absurdity and inconsistency, at a time when the national distress was at its height, of affording *additional facilities* to landlords to distress their tenantry, as in the Ejectment Act of 1811, *enabling him to seize upon the growing crops*;—and when there were several landlords between the occupier and the owner of the estate, who, if they quarrelled among themselves, had no other mode of revenge than oppressing the innocent tenant, by seizing upon him, in order to vex his immediate landlord. Then there was the Police Magistrate's Act, enabling him to *issue his warrant for church-rate and tithe*, and the power of *summary ejectment* for non-payment of rent.

He cited several other hardships, and observed that the national distress appeared to have had an unnatural and inconsistent effect upon the reasoning faculties of legislators; for as distress increased, their principle was to augment the arbitrary, irritating, and oppressive enactments, and the consequence was such as we had the misfortune to witness.

Mr. O'Connell moved that a committee of eleven be appointed to prepare a petition to parliament on church-rates.

“ This was agreed to.

“ MR. SHIEL then brought forward a petition relative to the administration of justice in Ireland, which was read and adopted. After which—

MR. O'CONNELL took the opportunity of impressing upon the Catholics of Dublin that their supineness was inexcusable, in ne-

glecting to preserve the rights to which they are by law entitled. By a culpable passiveness, they sacrificed their own and their brethren's privileges to the freedom of the city of Dublin, to which they were eligible for the last thirty years.

Some few years since, he (Mr. O'Connell) undertook, at his own expense, to obtain for a man named Cole the civic rights to which he was entitled, as having served his time to a *freeman*, but when he had gone through all the forms, and completely succeeded, the poor man died; and the *Hibernian Journal* announced the event by stating that GOD *had miraculously* saved the CORPORATION FROM THE CONTAMINATION of a PAPIST!

He had, however, since found another Catholic entitled to his freedom; and as he was not in circumstances sufficient to enable him to contend for it, he conceived the Association should come forward and give their assistance. The Catholics should not neglect to enrol their indentures, as doing so saved a considerable expense.

"Upon the 19th of June, MR. LAWLESS moved in the Association, for appointment of a committee to prepare a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, praying he would interpose his authority to prevent, on the 12th of July next, public processions of political associations in the country parts of Ireland.

MR. O'CONNELL, in seconding the motion, was anxious to have it understood that not the slightest notion prevailed of his Excellency being unmindful of his own duty with regard to what was necessary to be done for preserving the public peace, or that any want of confidence existed in his Excellency's desire or intention to prevent the sanguinary waste of human life which usually follows the illegal processions of Orange societies.

If the Marquis Wellesley were the only Lord Lieutenant whom they addressed upon the subject, it was because they had no hope from any other. It was an act of the plainest justice to the Catholics to acquaint the government how Orange irritation was met by Catholic conciliation; how the public peace was endangered, and innocent blood shed by the processions of licentious and infuriated rabble. No disturbance was ever occasioned by the Catholics.

Here Mr. O'Connell instanced the readiness of the Catholics to promote peace, by stating that in the north the Ribbonmen were accustomed to have a procession on Patrick's day, by way of a set-off against other displays; but in consequence of an able and patriotic address from one who exercised his talents with true Irish feeling (Mr. Lawless), calling upon them to forego their procession, they unanimously desisted from the annual

procession on the last celebration of St. Patrick's day. In return, their enemies are making every exertion to promote the offensive display on the approaching anniversary, not only where they have heretofore existed, but in places yet free from them. He had heard it was intended to have Orange processions in Tipperary, Youghal, and the city of Cork; and he therefore thought it would be quite right to show the Lord Lieutenant that Orangemen would follow no advice nor example for the peace of the country; but could only be controlled by the interference of government.

The meeting of Saturday, the 5th of July, afforded a very fair specimen of the increasing business of the new Association. A number of members spoke on various subjects; and Mr. O'Connell, in particular, had to speak three times—the weight of the work, as usual, falling upon his willing shoulders.

Mr. O'Gorman made a long speech, complaining of misrepresentation in parliament of former declarations of his. Several gentlemen spoke to the same subject, after which

MR. O'CONNELL inquired if the secretary had received any communication from Earl Grey, respecting their petition to the House of Lords on the administration of justice in Ireland. Should his lordship determine on presenting it, he would take care the same objections should not apply to it as were made in the other House; for he would supply abundance of facts to prove the undue administration of justice, as regarded the Catholics.

There was, he regretted, a great misapprehension as to the petition not having been signed by men of large properties, or of weight and influence; and he could state, for the information of the honourable gentlemen who so remarked upon the petition as was reported in the newspapers, that there were many, very many men signed to that petition, of greater landed property than either of the honourable members, Mr. James Daly and Mr. Richard Martin; and, still more, that they had themselves the sole control over their own estates.

As to men of other descriptions of property, there were the signatures of some of the most respectable merchants attached to the petition; men worth from £80,000 and upwards, that in Ireland was considered a respectable property. It is true the petition was signed and sent off in so great a hurry that it was not possible to obtain more signatures; but he doubted if there was a petition ever sent from Dublin that, for the number of signatures, contained a greater portion of respectability—not even the petitions of the corporation. (Laughter.)

It was remarkable that the two Galway members, who objected

to the petition, are returned by electors two-thirds of whom are Catholics, and several of them members of the Catholic Association. But he (Mr. O'Connell) had since learned, and was informed by several of them, that thirteen of the present members are not likely to have the opportunity of objecting to the Catholic petition after the next election—so indignant do the electors of Galway feel at the conduct of those honourable gentlemen. Indeed, he did not think the Catholics could have more dangerous enemies than those who vote the general question of Emancipation, because it is sure to be of no avail ; but when a particular grievance is submitted, they are sure to be found in the ranks of ministers.

The Catholics could have no worse nor more effectual enemy than the man who, having the patronage of a county in his pocket, and boasting of its influence, coalesced with a ministry like the present, though he might formally fulfil the conditions upon which he was returned, by giving his solitary vote upon an annual mockery of the Emancipation Bill.

A member inquired what was become of the address to the Lord Lieutenant, upon which

Mr. O'Connell stated, that the committee had made no report. As for himself, he said he had changed his mind upon that subject since the resolution of the corporation of Cork had been put forward. This he regarded as an official proceeding, not such as the proclamation of an Orange lodge, imposing upon, ridiculing, and insulting the government by forwarding this Orange proclamation with fictitious signatures, such as the romantic one of *Alfred Howard*. It was certainly the safest mode of keeping the name of the grand officer secret, when he had the grace to be ashamed of his dignity by affixing the signature of a person who did not exist.

The committee appointed to prepare the address to his Excellency had determined on the propriety of not doing so, out of respect to the exertions which it was evident the Lord Lieutenant was making, to prevent the insult against which his interposition was intended to be claimed ; and they also refrained in order to show their sense of the conciliating disposition evinced by the corporation of Cork.

Next, Mr. O'Connell, on the part of the committee appointed to prepare petitions to parliament, on the subject of poor-rates, stated, that it was the opinion of the committee, that as they were every day obtaining additional information with facts which

were almost incredible, they conceived it most prudent to defer the petition until next session, when they were determined not to leave ministers the opportunity of slurring over the grievances of Ireland.

They would then attack them in detail, and upon such disqualifications as were more immediately felt, and upon which they would offer strong and irresistible evidence. They would petition week after week, as if those who had the power persisted in refusing to remove the fetters, their ears should, at least, be dinned with the clanking of their chains, and the great object of the Catholic Association would thereby be attained—that of exposing to the world the present iniquitous and barbarous policy of a vacillating, inefficient ministry.

The mockery of a Commutation Tithe Bill, wholly impracticable, if not otherwise objectionable, would meet its deserved fate in the House of Lords. No operative measure to do away the grievance of the present tithe system is likely to pass the legislature this session, and the clergy will have the benefit of the Composition of Tithe Agistment Bill, without having commuted the tithe of potatoes. Mr. O'Connell here declared he knew no greater evil existing than that, nor did he think the imposition of local taxation was foreign to their purpose, as they found in it a compost of manure that nourished and preserved the existence of that hot-bed of bigotry and persecution, the Dublin corporation; who, protected by Mr. Goulbourn, might now triumphantly glory in having jobbed and squandered so many hundred thousand pounds to keep alive the cry of intolerance and persecution.

He assured the meeting they would be prepared with materials for next session, that would create for them in the minds of the British people, at least consideration, if not conviction.

MOTION OF THANKS TO HENRY BROUGHAM.

THE next speech we shall quote had reference to one who, though still prominent on the public scene, has long ago ceased to merit such testimonials as that which follows.

The speech was on a motion (made July the 12th) of thanks to *Henry Brougham*, who then *did* appear to merit the glowing eulogium Mr. O'Connell pronounced upon him, but who now has sunk himself almost below contempt.

MR. O'CONNELL rose. He did not consider it would be neces-

sary, upon the subject of his motion, to address the meeting at any length.

The petition complaining of the administration of justice in Ireland, was the first which the Catholics thought advisable not to place in the hands of any but an Irish member, and the result was proved, that the choice on this occasion was as judicious as happy, while the discussion itself, forming a new era in the history of Irish grievances, was also matter for congratulation.

It afforded an opportunity to the Catholics for the exposure of corruptions and abuses which would astonish even those who stood unawed by conscience, and unsubdued by shame. The Catholics, when preparing this petition, did not think it expedient to enter into a detail of facts which would necessarily provoke the ire of individual feeling, and elicit a premature defence of personal character. There were, besides, many recent cases in which the right of property has not been finally decided, and the decisions of which may be material to the support of their allegations, and if they thought it right to go before the house with their petition, complaining in general terms in the first instance, it was not, he would assure the quibblers, for want of materials of evidence, to prove the frequent and glaring acts of partiality in the administration of justice, where Catholics were concerned, and which were so notorious, that they did not expect any man possessing character or intellect could have the hardihood to deny; but though the Catholics, from thinking too favourably of human nature, may have miscalculated the opposition to their complaints, perhaps their error was a fortunate one, as having caused a challenge which they (the Catholics) most willingly accepted from a confidence in their ability, if not to satisfy, at least to confound their opponents.

But that was a subject which they should adjourn until next sessions of parliament, when he could promise their pledge should be redeemed.

To the people of Ireland, the debate itself afforded important instruction, teaching them what they were to expect from the perfidious friendship of members who assume an affected liberality, in which to shroud their mercenary ambition and unworthy projects, until the moment of the minister's necessity, when the liberties and privileges of constituents, the country's rights, and the nation's interests, are bartered for the patronage of a county, or the appointment of some dozen of gaugers. (Hear hear).

After the debate was opened by a speech (than which there

never was one more powerfully eloquent pronounced in that house), Mr. Goulbourn, from his official station, undertook to reply (though certainly not *by argument*). He condescended to quote what fell from so humble an individual as himself (Mr. O'Connell), when, in alluding to the judges, he instanced the honesty and ability of those who preside in the Court of King's Bench. Now, had the right honourable gentleman meant to rely upon that opinion, as contradicting the averments contained in the petition, he showed that he (Mr. Goulbourn) was quite mistaken in its operation, for, in their capacity of petitioners, they did not make any allusion generally to the judges, so neither could a compliment paid to any partial number of them, serve to exculpate the *whole*; and as to what fell from him (Mr. O'Connell) respecting the judges of the King's Bench, he could, with great certainty, declare it was not the incense of flattery, but an expression of honest feeling extorted from him by a conviction of the intrinsic merits of the distinguished individuals. (Hear, hear.)

But as the right honourable gentleman was merely a hired advocate, whose official duty obliged him to act as protector of abuses in Ireland, even to the plunderers of the corporation (great applause and continued cheering), he might be excused for trying to make the most of a bad case. Gentlemen might, perhaps, recollect Jeremy Bentham, talking of liberty, described the several authorities in the state as a series of checks upon each other; and as the judge, he says, is a check on the jury, so the Lord Lieutenant is a check on the judges; and as liberty consists of *checks*, so Mr. Goulbourn was sent to be a check over the Lord Lieutenant, fearing his excellency would be too favourable to liberty (laughter, and hear, hear), if not under the control of a gentleman serving his apprenticeship as a statesman, and who was frequently reduced to the dilemma of the barber who cut his finger when shaving a beggar, for which he cursed the poor wretch's thin cheek. (Laughter.) So did Mr. Goulbourn often cut his finger when defending the respectability of an Orange lodge, or the selection of a jury composed of twelve brothers, sworn to root out the *Amalekite* over whose life or property they hold the law's control.

Mr. Goulbourn, for aught he knew, might be a very honourable gentleman, though placed in one of the most unpleasant situations, and obliged to support and defend every measure of the cabinet to which he was attached. He had the authority of Falstaff for saying, that it was no crime for a man to labour

in his vocation. As an advocate, the right honourable gentleman could not have worse clients.

The Catholic petition was encountered by the qualms of the immaculate Colonel Barry's conscience; they were all aware how he shuddered at any, the least imputation, upon the honesty of juries; how the preserver of *Magna Charta* and patron of Orange grand juries, gave loose to his virtuous indignation at any insinuation against the administrators of justice in Ireland; and then the honesty of his zeal, and the success of his efforts for the preservation of our constitutional privileges deserved, as they would be, to be transmitted to admiring posterity; and those who have heretofore toasted Lord Erskine, and trial by jury, would henceforth vociferate "*huzza*" for Colonel Barry, and the honesty of jurors! Long life to Colonel Barry, the preserver of justice. (Laughter and cheers.)

And oh! how their admiration for the *lover of juries* must be heightened by the recollection, that in the newspapers of 1798, it is stated that a gentleman then named *Barry Maxwell* made a proposition to the Irish House of Commons, for the creation of an *ex post facto* law, authorizing THE TRIAL BY COURT MARTIAL of a number of unfortunate men who had been some time in confinement, owing to the difficulty of proving their guilt, but whom he alleged it was necessary to dispose of (hear, hear)—a proposal which even Lord Castlereagh's government refused to entertain, and protested against!

How it came to be the same person, who, in the English Commons, was so tenacious of a jury's rights, he (Mr. O'Connell) could attribute to his improvement from an English education, and, indeed, he could hardly believe that the present Colonel Barry was the apologist of the enormities of the year 1798, and who now raised his voice in support of the juries, though he could well believe him the person who wishes that Catholics should be excluded from juries that were to decide upon Catholic life or property; but that is a mere matter of taste with the gallant colonel, in which he (Mr. O'Connell) differed from him.

In alluding to the Galway members, Mr. Richard Martin, and Mr. Blake, he (Mr. O'Connell) was not a little embarrassed in endeavouring to restrain his indignation within those limits necessary to guard the expression of his feelings.

[Here a gentleman exclaimed, include Mr. Hutchinson. Mr. O'Connell, in a very earnest tone, replied, indeed I will not, and I shall give you my reason by-and-by.]

The learned gentleman then resumed. Why, he would ask, were the Catholics not long since emancipated? because those whom they return to parliament, under the guise of Catholic friends, proved their most insidious enemies, ever ready to coalesce with the bitterest opponents against any practical or substantial good being extended to them, and took care to parade on the side of liberality, when they knew their services would not be available. Such men were the real enemies of the Catholics, for, like treacherous allies, they elude the precautions that would be adopted against the avowed, but less dishonourable enemies of religious toleration—the Orangemen, and should the Catholic electors of Galway neglect to mark their disapprobation in the most effectual and decisive manner, they would be degraded amongst the meanest of mankind, and unworthy of possessing the privileges of freemen or electors.

He now felt, he assured the meeting, an indescribable dread in mentioning the name of *Hutchinson*, lest a word escape him that might be construed into any thing like disrespect; a man to whom Ireland and the Catholics owed a debt of gratitude, which they should not feel the less, because of their inability to acquit themselves of it. (Hear, hear, and applause.) At the period of Ireland's suicide, when the family of Mr. Hutchinson assisted in the degradation of their country, he it was who, sacrificing the dearest affections of the heart, which are inseparable from refined feeling, and soften the chagrins of existence, separated himself from those connexions, and stood forward as the eloquent, able, and independent advocate of his country (hear, hear), and has since remained the active and energetic guardian of her few remaining rights.

Could the Irish peasant forget his exertions on the subject of tithes? and though he has been in a situation in which a minister never thinks a patriot disinterested, has he purchased a country's patronage at the expense of his vote? No, he stands on a pinnacle of virtuous independence, removed at an immeasurable distance above the reproach of dishonour. To him are the Catholics indebted for having secured to them not only the return of two real friends, but the exclusion of an Orange representation. On the subject of this petition, Mr. Hutchinson voted with Mr. Brougham; but he at the same time expressed his opinion of a particular class of persons whom he sought to relieve from the charges made by the petitioners.

In that opinion he certainly was mistaken. He forgot the case of **TODD JONES**; he also forgot, that when an inhabitant

of the city of Cork, not connected with the corporation, had occasion to bring an action, he never had it tried there, but in some neighbouring county, frequently in his (Mr. O'Connell's county; ("your own kingdom," observed a gentleman in the room.) The honourable gentleman (Mr. Hutchinson) had also forgotten, that it is notorious that a poor man never obtains a verdict against a rich man in the city of Cork, and that it is the only county in Ireland in which an assassination has been committed for a pecuniary consideration, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining justice for a poor man.

Indeed, there was one exception to this general accusation, in which he (Mr. O'Connell) had been himself concerned, and he was resolved to try to shame the jury into a verdict, by telling them if they gave a verdict for his client, they would be the first jury in the city of Cork that had given a verdict for a poor man, against a rich adversary, and they deserved the distinction, for they found for the poor man. There was not a county in Ireland, even the most Orange of the north, that he would not sooner have a Catholic's case tried in, than the city of Cork; and as to their grand juries, he never yet heard of a resolution proceeding from them in favour of liberty or liberality, while instances are most numerous of the contrary.

It was by presenting a petition against the Catholics, as foreman of the grand jury, that Mr. Anderson, of Fermoy, got his knightship from the Duke of Richmond. With the existence of all these facts, he would admit Mr. Hutchinson was mistaken in his opinion of the city of Cork juries, and he would not apologize for the error; but he was bound, from the deepest gratitude, to acknowledge Mr. Hutchinson's many and eminent services, and to express his sincere belief that he was mistaken, and had not shaken his (Mr. O'Connell's) conviction of his pure and ardent patriotism.

In mentioning the name of *Brougham*, he was affected by feelings of admiration, gratitude, and pleasure. (Hear, hear.) Never was there, perhaps, a happier specimen of splendid and various talents, of a powerful mind, of chastened energy and unaffected greatness of design and arrangement, than in the speech for which they were about to thank its author. In his reply to those who followed, oh, what a triumph! He followed them to their den, and dragged them from their strongest hold. When they affected to talk of the celebrated letter being improperly introduced, from the manner in which it had been obtained, instead, then, of replying by acquainting them of its history as furnished by

him (Mr. O'Connell), he fearlessly preferred, not merely to enter, but to carry the war into their own camp, *to ask them how they came by the queen's letters?*

But oh, that was a different case. No public crime was committed there—no violation of the most sacred principles of social or civilised society. There was no despicable meanness in bribing the queen's domestics to become malignant tale-bearers, perfidious and treacherous guardians of her *escrutoire!* Oh, but that occurrence was managed with such excessive delicacy, that it did not deserve to be named at the same time with such baseness, as producing a mischievous, offensive, and unconstitutional letter, found in the street, and relating to improper interference with the grand jury by—a judge.

The bare mention of even the possibility of a political judge of a certain party being influenced by his prejudices in the administration of justice, would be such a sin in the eyes of Lord Downes and Mr. Saurin (who were both perfect saints in their way), that life itself would hardly suffice to expiate the offence; but thank heaven, Mr. Plunket spares the press at *both* sides, and much good may it do them, though some portion of it never spares him (Mr. Plunket), nor were they more kind to himself (Mr. O'Connell); but they were perfectly welcome, when they made any thing by him, to cut him up in bad rhyme and worse prose, sooner than he should invade the liberty of that powerful preserver of our rights and freedom.

But he would ask, if ever such a use was made of the press as the publication of a charge lately given from the bench in Carlow? Why, it was a perfect libel on the learned judge, for it was impossible that any such buffoonery could ever have escaped from the lips of a man holding the office of Chief Justice; and if Mr. Saurin should succeed in turning Mr. Plunket out, the press—that is the independent portion—will be punished for having inserted so gross a libel as that purporting to be Lord Norbury's charge.

In the speeches of Mr. Brougham upon their petition, there was so much to admire as made it impossible to select any particular passages for eulogy; but what was most worthy comment was the total indifference to personal or professional interests when upon the subject of the judicial authorities; but take him all in all, had they a man in the House of Commons possessing such powerful talents.

There was, to be sure, Mr. Peel, remarkable for his figures of poetry, Mr. Canning for his figures of wit, and Mr. Robinson

for his figures of calculation : but they were all so many figures of pigmies when compared with the intrepid zeal, capacity, powerful mind, and happy eloquence of Brougham ; and sincerely did he (Mr. O'Connell) wish he were endowed with some portion of his abilities, in order to express the gratitude of Irish Catholics for that exertion, the fame of which will travel to the remotest corners of the world ; and if their country should have occasion to erect a monument, not to a Wellington, but to perpetuate the resurrection of Ireland from the evils of the Union and the curse of intolerance, oppression, and persecution, the first name written over the altar of Justice should be—

HENRY BROUGHAM.

The Association having adjourned from its rising on the day of the motion for thanks to Henry Brougham, until November, Mr. O'Connell, thus released from his chief political engagements, delayed only until those of a legal nature were terminated by the long vacation, to rejoin his family in France.

From Tours, where they had spent the winter, he brought them to Paris, and thence, after several weeks in that city, by Rouen and Havre, to Southampton, for a further sojourn of a few months at the latter.

It is not for the author of this *half-sketch, half-compilation*, overpowered as he is by the multiplicity of matter directly relevant to his theme, to introduce what is of lesser, because of private concernment ; yet the remark may be allowed him, that the recollections of travel in the company of Mr. O'Connell are among the most delightful in the minds of his family. Records of the old woes of Ireland ; recitations of her most moving ballad poetry ; information and illustration the most interesting upon historical events connected with the objects on the line of route ; these (given an additional charm to by the unvarying sunshine of cheerfulness, and the frequent indulgences of playful humour)

“Cheered the rough road, and made us wish it long!”

Late in October he returned to Ireland, accompanied only by the writer, then on his way to the Jesuits' College, at Clongowes—Mr. O'Connell not being one of those Irish Catholics, who are so ashamed of their country that they must needs leave their children in England to be educated.

Before proceeding to his ultimate destination, the writer attended one meeting of the infant Catholic Association, in Capel-street, and, by a chance, did not attend another until the year 1829, when that body had not only passed its maturity, but, having accomplished its great end and object, was approaching its dissolution.

The contrast was striking. The narrow *two-room floor* in Capel-street, yet but half filled, the scanty returns of money, the few communications from the country, and the informal haste with which the business of the day (all, save Mr. O'Connell's usual address) was got through, were exchanged, in 1829, for the much larger arena of the Corn Exchange Rooms, crowded—room, passages, stairs, and all, to suffocation ; Catholic rent handed in in hundreds ; country letters of the most spirit-stirring tone read in rapid succession ; and these, and other routine businesses, conducted with a gravity, and an observance of forms, that could scarcely be equalled in the bureau of a Secretary of State.

The men themselves (such of them as the vicissitudes of the eventful interval had left in activity) were altered. Captious, uncertain, half-timid in 1823, in 1829 they were bold, self-confident, enthusiastic. Each of them, in that interval, had been taught—

“ — His rights to scan,

And learned to venerate himself—as *Irishman*.”

One only remained unaltered. The tone, the manner of 1823 were, in his case, the tone and manner of 1829, high, cheering, hopeful, and determined, to the fullest degree, but not more so in the latter year than in the former.

In her adversity, he had never doubted of the fortunes of Ireland, and carrying out of the merciful designs of Divine Providence in her regard.

The Association re-assembled for its winter "session," at the rooms in Capel-street, on Saturday, the 1st of November. Mr. O'Connell had all the work to himself.

MR. O'CONNELL observed that in consequence of the secretary's absence, the book containing the proceedings of the Association could not be laid before the meeting; and, therefore, as there was no business nor order of the day to proceed in, he should then give notice of some motions for the next day of meeting, and he would begin with notice of a motion of thanks to the author of the pamphlet "In Vindication of the Catholics of Ireland."

The pamphlet had been attributed to the learned Doctor Doyle, and there was no doubt it emanated from his powerful pen; but as the author had not thought fit to attach his name to it, the Association would not be authorized to use his name in their vote.

He (Mr. O'Connell) considered it truly satisfactory that such a work came from such an authority; for there was not a single principle professed through the whole of the pamphlet that did not meet the concurrence of every Catholic in Ireland. The "Essay upon Tithes" was, perhaps, one of the happiest compositions ever read, being in its nature novel, and in its objects useful, in demonstrating the weakness and insufficiency of the title to tithes, as derived from divine right. To the Catholics it was matter of congratulation that, against a principle so pernicious and oppressive in its bearings, and so much opposed to man's natural rights in its practice, the arguments most effective, and calculated to shake its holding, were furnished by a Catholic prelate.

For seventeen of the eighteen years when, struggling with the British Parliament for their rights, the Catholics dared not raise their voices upon the subject of tithes, until their enemies had furnished them with the opportunity, and then it was shown that, however insupportable a grievance tithes were to the Irish peasantry, the mode of collection rendered them the most fatal enemy to the peace and prosperity of the country. It was the bounden duty of the Association to pledge itself to the principles professed in the pamphlet, and to throw around it the shield of its opinion against any assaults that may be made upon its

author, by one of the vilest instruments that ever disgraced the institution of the press.

If the pamphlet was read in England, it would be of the last importance, as it might induce England, for the security of the British empire, to think of making peace with Ireland, when she is very likely to be at war with the Continent. (Hear, hear.) By the intended vote of thanks, the Association would proclaim their opinion, and their wishes, on the subject of their grievances.

The next notice he should offer, was for the appointment of a committee for collecting such facts as may be deemed necessary in support of their petition to the House of Lords, upon the administration of justice to Ireland, to be presented by Earl Grey.

The Irish public (he said) well knew that in their country justice was corrupted to its very source, and that in one province in particular, the administration of justice had been affected by the unfortunate tinge of sectarian and political prejudice, and that even in the very counties so highly lauded by parliament for their good government.

When the petition was confided to Mr. Brougham, it was not thought necessary to support its allegations by particular facts or instances, or he should have been furnished with them most plentifully; and if they were only to take up the records of the last assizes, they should find abundant matter of complaint in the *Leinster* circuit. But their petition never went to arraign the superior judges. It was true they did not compliment, but neither did they censure any court; indeed, it was quite impossible their complaints could have alluded to the superior courts; for whilst there were particular judges exceptionable, the superior courts in general were honest, impartial, and able; and he most explicitly and unequivocally expressed his respectful admiration of, and confidence in, *all* the judges in the King's Bench.

TITHE COMMUTATION BILL.

MR. O'CONNELL said his third notice related to a very important subject. It was, that a committee should be appointed to prepare a petition to parliament against the late Tithe Commutation Bill, than which he had no idea of any measure more contemptible or ridiculous

One of the best Irishmen living—and, if there was but one such in every county, Ireland would not remain as it is—that talented individual, the Honourable Pierce Butler,* had written most powerfully upon the gross injustice of fixing the average for the seven years preceding 1821, but though the honourable and learned writer had successfully exposed the false data upon which the bill was founded, yet, as he was not a lawyer, he did not detect the important distinctions between the sums *paid*, and that *agreed* to be paid, during the seven years upon which the average is struck; and every one knew there was some difference (particularly in Ireland) between sums *paid*, and sums *agreed* to be paid. (Hear, hear.)

And it was also to be considered that the term of years for ascertaining the average, included two or three of the years in which agricultural produce was higher than it had ever been in Ireland before or since; and then, how was the average to be ascertained, supposing the principle unobjectionable? Why, by commissioners, who were to average every acre in the parish, and for which they were to receive each thirty shillings per day. By that provision every man of property would be at the mercy of the commissioners; and for himself, he (Mr. O'Connell) would be glad to have the commissioners his friends, but most certainly would dread their enmity, in having his property subject to their valuation.

Really, thirty shillings per day to gentlemen paid for riding through the parish, amusing themselves, and exercising their strange boasted authority, would be so desirable a mode of killing time, that he (Mr. O'Connell) feared the seven years allowed for ascertaining the practicability of the measure would expire before every acre in the parish was valued.

From the clause, that whatever sum should be awarded was to have precedence of every other engagement or claim, it appeared as if the anxiety of the framers of this bill was directed principally to the minister's protection and aggrandisement, he (the minister) being permitted to re-value and obtain the highest price of the day, should he become dissatisfied with the former allowance. It was calculated that by this bill one half of the property of the country would be enjoyed by the clergy, and he (Mr. O'Connell) was one of those who thought they had quite enough already; nor would he quarrel with the person, whoever he might be, that would say the clergymen had too much tithes.

* The recently deceased and lamented Colonel Butler M.P. county Kilkenny

EXTENSION OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

MR. O'CONNELL next gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a committee to devise measures for the purpose of extending the Catholic Association throughout every county in Ireland, as he conceived the Catholic cause would be benefited by every county coming simultaneously forward next session, with their petitions to parliament.

The misery of Ireland has, within these few years particularly, been increasing in proportion to the prosperity of other countries. France, in her finances and trade, was at that moment the most flourishing nation in Europe. Owing to the apathy of the British ministry, she had exterminated liberty on the Continent, and driven her from her last hold; she had secured the most imposing military positions; she commands the coast from Cadiz to Dunkirk, from any port of which she can leave at pleasure, with her countless forces. The British navy, in its proudest days, could not blockade such an extent of coast as France now possesses; and whether her hostility to England was a mark of gratitude or not, was immaterial. (Hear.) But with such facilities and powerful means, and having previously secured the alliance of MARSHAL ROCK, she might, on a landing at Bantry Bay, prove an infinitely more formidable enemy than ministers appeared to think.

He (Mr. O'Connell) was of opinion that a connexion with England would be beneficial to Ireland; but he wished it to be a fair and just connexion; and he conceived his allegiance to the British monarch obliged him to express his apprehensions and opinions for the safety of the empire, and to caution England against continuing her intolerant opposition to the rights of the Irish nation, thus making for France an ally so near her in the Irish peasantry, who should rather be made a portion of England's strength.

He thought that when the Catholic Association was extended through Ireland, they might simultaneously send forward a petition to parliament every fortnight; for, unhappily, there was no want of subject or matter for such petitions.

CATHOLIC BURYING GROUND.

WHEN MR. O'CONNELL was about to hand in his notices, Mr Conroy reminded him of the rights of sepulture ; upon which Mr. O'Connell observed that the subject was certainly one of paramount importance.

Late occurrences had shown that opportunities were eagerly sought for, and every pretext laid hold of to humble the Catholics, and remind them of their degraded condition. They were not content with oppressing Catholics when living, but they must insult them when dead. He had no doubt of the Catholic's rights, as stated in his published opinion, and which he learned was assailed, in his absence, by some person who withheld his name. It was not his (Mr. O'Connell's) habit to reply to communications addressed to him anonymously, or he would have something to occupy him ; but if any barrister, or other person, would contend with him openly, he should be able to support his opinion, and dissipate such objections as had yet been put forward.

To be sure, he heard it gravely asserted that the church-yard was the clergyman's freehold, and he could do as he pleased with it; and so he (Mr. O'Connell) always understood that a man could make what use he pleased of his own freehold; but he had yet to learn whether a clergyman could plough up the burying-ground, and sow turnips in it: and yet he was told it was his freehold. If he could appropriate the ground to sowing turnips or other vegetables, yet he doubted whether such an occupation would be as productive as *sowing Papists* (laughter) ; for the *freehold of St. James's*, he was informed, produced the minister near a couple of thousand a-year.

The Catholics should get rid of such unfeeling and unnatural irritation; and the means by which they could do so would be, to form an association for the purchase of ground, to serve as an asylum where their bones might be deposited with the forms of Christian burial, without fear of insult, and where the Irish Catholics might enjoy the exercise of a religious ceremony of which *they only, of the whole Christian world, were deprived.* (Hear, hear, hear.)

Catholics should know that the burying-grounds were not consecrated by the Protestants, but by the Catholics; and it is because they were so, that Catholics continue being buried in the present grave-yards. Catholic bishops could again conse-

crate burying-grounds, the revenue of which, instead of being given to enable their enemies to purchase *The Evening Mail*, and insult the Catholics, may be applied to some Catholic charity (great applause); and then the BISHOP OF DUBLIN and the SEXTON OF ST. KEVIN'S may be left to arrange the expulsion of Catholic clergymen from church-yards. He mentioned the BISHOP OF DUBLIN, because it was between him and the SEXTON; but he could not say what portion of the honour each was entitled to. The glorious distinction was not exclusively theirs, however; for the same revolting and unchristian-like interference had extended lately through several parts of the kingdom; and really those who valued the peace and tranquillity of Ireland should be anxious for such an establishment as would preclude the necessity of employing the police, or increasing their numbers.

It was never so much the practice as at present to call for the interference of the *Peelers*. Whether to distrain or collect tithes, to drive for rent or execute any civil process, the criminal and military authorities must have a share in the proceedings; and if, in addition to these services, they give the Catholics a military escort with their funeral processions, the armed guardians of Ireland must be prodigiously increased, and perhaps on such occasions, having to bury *one*, may cause the death of *many*; and therefore, instead of paying for the privilege of being insulted, the Catholics should endeavour to avoid the opportunities of giving or receiving offence.

He should, therefore, give notice of a motion for appointing a committee to take measures for the purchase of ground for a Catholic cemetery, and against which there was no statute. There was one against burying in old abbeys; but he believed that was remedied by the act of '93.

"After thanks to the chairman (says the report) the meeting adjourned; the three months and a half recess not having given birth to any projects for carrying on the agitation on the part of any other member."

The following Saturday—the usual day of adjournment—Mr. O'Connell redeemed some of the foregoing notices:—

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.—NOV. 8, 1823.

LAURENCE CLYNCH, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. O'CONNELL opened the business of the day, by observing, that as had given five notices of motions for that day's discus-

sion, it was his privilege to take them in such order as he pleased ; and he should commence with one upon which he did not anticipate any difference of sentiment in the meeting.

The motion was—"That the thanks of the Association be returned to the author of the pamphlet in vindication of the Roman Catholics of Ireland"—a work in which its author evinces more talent, more genuine liberality, and more command of his subject, than, perhaps, any other writer who has laboured in the same cause.

He fearlessly asserts what Catholics believe to be true, while he treats with decent respect the belief of others ; and in handling with a happy and dignified sarcasm the vulgar and bigoted prejudices that exist against his countrymen, he forcibly and successfully vindicates their principles. From amongst the numerous, unfounded, and illiberal charges daily issuing from the vile press of their opponents, he has selected such as appeared to have any claim to be considered serious accusations ; and he (Mr. O'Connell) should mention them in the order they appeared in the work itself, for the purpose of showing to the Association how important it was the charges should be collected and replied to.

The first charge was, the late miracles or (should he call them) extraordinary cures. If upon that subject there happened a mistake, was it reasonable its consequences should fall upon the Catholic body, or that it should be imputed to them ? The reality of the cure had been admitted on all sides. Mrs. Stuart was most dangerously ill, and in a few moments was restored to perfect health ; that is a fact not doubted. Then as to the manner of cure, Doctor Cheyne and others might call it natural, and also contend that the circumstance of a person who lay at the point of death, and was instantly restored to health, had no connexion with the sacrifice of the Mass ; but was it to be believed that from any species of credulity, such a man as Doctor Murray would be capable of contriving an imposition or publishing a falsehood, and that the lady herself, and the other persons who have attested what they saw, were perjurers. If credit was to be denied to them, he did not know what was to become of human testimony.

It had been his duty, from a professional course of many years, to draw matters of fact, as resulting from human evidence ; and more credible testimony than theirs he never saw offered to a public tribunal of justice.

Mrs. Stuart had confined herself for life, from religious mo-

tives, and could have no object to gain by condemning herself to punishment hereafter. She is a Catholic, and believes in the intercession of her Redeemer, whom she appealed to for the truth of her deposition; and could they believe she would daily approach the celebration of his sacrifice with perjury upon her lips? He (Mr. O'Connell) was told that day, in the hall of the Four Courts, by a respectable gentleman, that Mrs. Stuart had been dead for some time past.

Mr. O'Gorman here observed, that report was generally circulated throughout the country

He asked him (Mr. O'Connell) if he believed in the cure? and upon telling him he did, the gentleman went off without hearing him as to his reasons for so believing.

He had dwelt upon that topic rather long, because he considered it one of importance to Ireland; and though he believed the cure a miraculous one, yet he quarrelled with no one who believed it to be natural. But not so with the intolerant scurrilous fanatics who have reviled and calumniated one of the meekest and least pretending of men—a prelate of a mild and humane disposition, unobtrusive and peaceable habits, whose splendid talents and scholastic acquirements have been ever exercised for the good of his species and the advancement of Christianity. (Hear, hear.) HE—the scholar of Him from whose example he has learned meekness and humbleness of heart—HE, the metropolitan head of the Catholic Church, has been assailed with a virulence disgraceful to any but the vile Orange press of Dublin. Oh! what a frightful state of society, when persons are found capable of traducing such characters as Doctor Murray, merely because he should sanction, by the authority of his name, what he knew to be true, and what he (Mr. O'Connell) hoped Parliament would appoint a commission to inquire into.

In the pamphlet of which he (Mr. O'Connell) spoke, how finely portrayed was that amiable quality, Christian forbearance; and how mildly opposed to volumes of personal abuse! Doctor Doyle had not replied—he had merely written an apology for the Catholic belief, that the arm of God is not now less powerful than when it created the world, however infidels may coalesce to destroy that belief, by impious ribaldry.

The next charge against the Catholics, and against which Doctor Doyle had so admirably and effectively vindicated them is—“That the Catholic religion is anti-Christian, and is so slavish as to unfit its professors for the enjoyment of freedom;” and

never was a charge more distinctly or happily refuted than by the reply, that that religion cannot be anti-Christian with which Christianity began; nor slavish, which first disseminated freedom, in establishing the British constitution; nor slavish, which established with it free states, before they became monarchical; and monarchical governments, before they became absolute.

The inestimable disquisition upon tithes he (Mr. O'Connell) could not sufficiently panegyryze. The author had satisfactorily proved that they were not of divine right, but of human institution (hear), and that they are some of the blessings for which Ireland is indebted to English civilization.

He has shown that the Irish supported the clergy respectably before the institution of tithes: and he has also established beyond contradiction, that when tithes were instituted, they were appropriated to the purposes of repairing and building churches, and in support of the poor; and that the innovation pompously, but erroneously, styled the "Reformation," took from the poor that benefit, whilst it threw upon them all the expenses of church repairs. (Hear, hear hear.) The wicked insinuation that Catholic leaders had endeavoured to instigate a rebellion, it was unnecessary for him (Mr. O'Connell) to say how triumphantly he (the author of the pamphlet) had refuted. If the Catholics were a slavish race, and suffering under their bondage, was it rebellion to tell their oppressors they felt the weight of their chains

Was it, in Ireland, false, unfounded, or wicked, to tell the people they were persecuted, oppressed, and unhappy?—or was the information new to them? (Hear, hear.) Are *they* not rather the *promoters* of disturbance *who daily* proclaim their privilege to irritate and insult the population of Ireland, and threaten them with extermination should they seek to emerge from that debasement? Are *they* not the disturbers of Ireland who seek to perpetuate her grievances? (Hear, hear, hear.)

The Catholics were charged with wishing to oppose the progress of education. It was a peculiarity of the English character, that liberality was an attribute said exclusively to belong to the Protestant religion, and that the Catholic was the reverse. But did those who argued so forget that a Catholic state was the first to proclaim liberty of conscience? (Hear, hear.) Did they forget Catholic Maryland? Did they forget that Catholic Hungary, first gave emancipation to Protestants, who, though but one-third of the population, enjoy equal privileges, and are free from tithes to the Catholic Church; whilst at the same

time, their ministers are paid by the state in proportion to their flock? That, as an example, might be praised by Protestants; but remained unimitated. (Hear, hear.)

Do the exclusively liberal Protestants forget that in Catholic France the Protestant clergyman has one-fifth more salary than the Catholic; for where the Catholic clergyman has about £80, the Protestant has £100, upon the liberal feeling that the latter, being privileged to marry, may have a family?—and do they forget that in Catholic France Protestants are eligible to fill every public situation? (Hear, hear.)

Do they forget that in Catholic Bavaria, the Protestants were emancipated? Do they forget that in the history of any Protestant state, there are no such instances of liberality to be found, and that wherever the Protestants have the upper hand, the Catholics are a persecuted race. Oh, but in Protestant London, they tell you there is liberty of conscience; for there every one has permission to embrace any form of religion he pleases. Why, it is true; but the same privilege exists at Constantinople, in China, and even in Madrid, where, by the supineness and criminal apathy of the English ministry, the Inquisition was re-established. If such were called the liberty of conscience, he considered it the groundwork of fanatic bigotry.

The Orange press was not sufficiently strong already, but they must have an additional ally in a new newspaper; but certainly one whose weapons were also new, for in it there was a decency of expression, and some references to facts, of which the other Orange papers were entirely destitute. In that paper it was stated that the cause of the Catholics opposing the Kildare-street Association was, because they could not exclude the Scriptures entirely from the schools. Now, that was a gross misrepresentation, for the Catholics never required any such unreasonable concession: all they asked was, that Bibles should not be *forced* upon Catholic children, contrary to the consent of their pastors (hear, hear); and he would then pledge himself to the Kildare-street Association (here he hoped he should be reported correctly, for some papers in Ireland were singularly inaccurate in that respect), that if they did not *FORCE upon Catholic children the Bible without note or comment, and against the consent of the Catholic clergy, he would bring them a phalanx of subscribers and supporters!*

To every unprejudiced person it must be evident that the tender, uninformed minds of children were ill-calculated for the perusal of a work that frequently caused distraction and delu-

sion in the adult, and which, if given to children to read as task punishments, must, instead of respect, create in them disgust for a work that should never be alluded to but with affectionate reverence and admiration. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. O'Gorman here exclaimed, the practice was really impious.

Upon every point, Doctor Doyle, in his pamphlet, had ably met and refuted their opponents; and so eagerly was it read, and so high was its character, that (what was very unusual in Ireland) the first edition had met such a sale as not to leave one unsold in the hands of the publisher; and such was the force and overpowering weight of its arguments, that their opponents were reduced, as a last experiment to prevent its circulation or coming before the English eye, to proclaim it not worth reading.

There was, however, one passage in it which might be an exception to its general merits—the compliment paid to him (Mr. O'Connell); but if the author seriously intended to compliment him, that was a sufficient recompense for the ridicule of his (Mr. O'Connell's) Orange panegyrist; and he would desire no better character from his country than the approbation of such a man as Doctor Doyle. It might be a good subject for laughter that he had praised the pamphlet, because the pamphlet had praised him; but the pamphlet was as much above his praise as he despised the ridicule of a press that never rose above Billingsgate phraseology but to tell an unvarnished falsehood.

Mr. O'Connell then moved the resolution of thanks to the author of the pamphlet "In vindication of the Catholics of Ireland."

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

BURIAL GROUNDS.

MR. O'CONNELL said, the subject of the *burying ground*, though not next in order, he should bring forward, because the necessity for its adoption was more pressing than the others.

Since the last day of meeting, he had looked into all the law authorities upon the subject, and he was happy to inform them, that neither by the common, statute, nor ecclesiastical laws were there any obstacles opposed to their having a piece of ground where their remains might be deposited without the

eternal recurrence of insult to which they were at present subject. He did not wish to make it exclusively Catholic, for as the Catholics were desirous not to be separated in this life from their brethren of other persuasions, neither did they wish to be divided from them in their passage from this to another world. It was intended to be open to the deceased of every sect, where perfect freedom of religious rites might console the living, and, according to his (Mr. O'Connell's) creed, assist the dead.

The knowledge that those rights would be obtained might render death itself less terrible to those who know that even to the grave they are prevented by sectarian intolerance. The fact was very well known and felt, that burial fees were excessively exorbitant. In the case of Mr. D'Arcy, his friends paid no less a sum than *ten pounds* burial fees, for which, indeed, they had the privilege of seeing his remains insulted. The immense revenues arising from that source of emolument, the Catholics might divert from the pockets of their enemies. Those revenues might be applied to the liquidation of the necessary expenses, in the first instance, and the surplus go to the formation of a fund for the support of Catholic and other charities—a consideration which could not fail to be grateful to the benevolent mind and soothe the agonies of a sick bed. There was no legal obstacle to carrying their object into effect; there was nothing to prevent their having a burying-ground out of the precincts of a town. It was true, there was a statute preventing the opening of a new burying-ground within the city, but that had no relation to particular religious sects. For very obvious reasons it applied to objects of health, and no clergyman could complain of the diminution of his revenues.

In the reign of King James I. a clergyman, in a parish in London, brought an action against the friends of a person who died in his (the clergyman's parish), but was buried in another, when it was decided by the Ecclesiastical Court that the suit should not go on, and the Court of King's Bench granted a prohibition against the suit. He had reason to know that some very respectable and influential persons interested themselves in the present project, in order to prevent, as much as lay within their power, that constant irritation which it was the object of their enemies to create.

One gentleman had waited upon him (Mr. O'Connell), and had offered him *the fee simple of twenty acres* of common, near Clondalkin, and there might to that be attached a chapel, where the dead in that burying-ground would be prayed for, and

around the ground might be built a wall, and with the constant watching of a sufficient number of persons, the remains of mortality would be secure from being disturbed for the purposes for which they are at present used ; and as the law gives the power, they could find no difficulty in getting sixty or seventy persons to subscribe £50 each, at the highest interest, for the purpose of enclosing the ground, building the chapel, &c., and that sum it will not be necessary to pay but by instalments, and as they may be wanting, and the revenue of the ground could be handed over as a security. Even as a trading speculation, he conceived there would be no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of persons to undertake the speculation, when, if it be true that a single church-yard in Dublin produces £2,000 a-year, and paid by nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Dublin, the establishment, he conceived, would have the effect of diminishing that revenue, which was not at present employed as it might be, and a certainty of directing it to meritorious purposes.

The origin of churchyard fees (said the learned gentleman) was not a little curious, when it was sought to exclude the Catholics from those privileges established by their ancestors. In Catholic times the canon law guarded against the payment of churchyard fees, and they were considered an imposition ; but monasteries having churchyards attached to them, persons when dying directed they should be buried in them, and left money in order to have themselves prayed for ; but at the Reformation the monasteries were abolished, and the fees were continued.

TITHES.

“MR. O'CONNELL gave notice of a motion for preparing a petition to Parliament, praying the enactment of a law to compel the clergy to take their tithe in kind, particularly as related to potatoes, in which the miserable peasantry were considerably harassed and defrauded, the custom having been to leave every tenth ridge, or every tenth spade's length, for the tithe ; but by a recent decree of the court at CASHEL, the peasant was obliged, in addition to giving so large a portion of his property, to have the labour of digging them also ; and such a grievance was this felt that Mr. Crotty, whom every body knew, and who Mr. Blacker so bedaubed with praises for what nobody could sell, was offered ten shillings with each lot, besides the tithe, and to take it in kind, which he refused.

We should have inserted before, had we observed strict order of dates, an opinion of Mr O'Connell's respecting the vexed question of Catholic funeral ceremonies in Protestant churchyards, which appeared in the Dublin papers about the end of September. But the opinion has strict relevance to the speech which follows it here :—

RIGHTS OF SEPULTURE.

AN opinion has been obtained from Mr. O'Connell on this question, which, as it is one of very deep interest, we lose no time in laying before the public:—

Théré is no statute law preventing a Catholic priest from praying for a deceased Catholic in a churchyard. The mistake on this subject originated in a misapprehension (frequently a wilful one) of the statute of the 21st and 22nd of the late king, cap. 24, sec. 8. But that section contains no prohibition.

It is not, in itself, any enactment of a positive or affirmative nature. It operates merely by way of exception, and it simply *deprives* such Catholic priest as may "*officiate at a funeral in church or churchyard*" of the benefits conferred by *that* act.

Now, no Catholic priest does at present want the benefit of that act at all. It is, in truth, *now* a dead letter, remaining, with much similar lumber, on the statute book—creating no rights, constituting no privations, unless in its enactments, nugatory in its exceptions.

The next question asked me is, whether the praying for the dead by a Catholic priest at a funeral or in a churchyard, is prohibited by the common law?

My answer is, that it is not. The Catholic religion had pre-existence in the common law; it was adopted into the common law, as part and parcel of that law. So the law continued until what is called the Reformation, in the reign of Henry VIII.

The Catholic religion being thus part and parcel of the common law, it follows, necessarily, that praying for the dead could not be prohibited either at funerals, in churchyards, or elsewhere. On the contrary, it was at common law part of the duty of the priest, and he was bound to pray for the dead at funerals and in churchyards. And it was reciprocally one of the rights of the king's subjects at common law to have prayers said for the dead, by Catholic priests, at funerals and in churchyards.

Thus, such prayers not being prohibited, but, on the contrary, being enjoined at common law, and there being no statute to forbid such praying, it follows, as a matter of course, that no Catholic priest can be legally prevented from praying for a deceased Catholic at a funeral in a churchyard.

The next question turns upon the mode of redress, should a Catholic priest be prevented from *thus* officiating. As to that—

I am of opinion (but with some doubt) that an action would lie at the suit of the executors of the deceased against any person who prevented a Catholic priest from praying in the church-yard, over the body of their testator.

But as I am unwilling to advise litigation where it *may* be avoided, I think the best remedy would be found in the peaceful, but determined assertion of the right. Let the friends of the deceased peaceably surround the priest and the body during the service. Let any violence which may arise come from the *preventing* parties, and then the individuals to whom that violence may be used will have a distinct right of action, or may proceed by indictment against the persons who use force.

In many counties there may be the natural and usual apprehension that the magistrates, *tinged* (to speak moderately) with Orange, may not do strict justice to the Catholics on any occasion of this sort. In every such case, the indictment, as soon as found, should be removed by *certiorari* into the King's Bench, Dublin, where every body is sure of meeting impartial justice.

If grand juries, acting on a *similar* bad feeling, throw out the bills of indictment, the Court of King's Bench, upon the making out, by affidavit, a proper case for that purpose, will grant a criminal information.

Thus it will be found that there are abundant means for the Catholics to maintain this their undoubted right. I am decidedly of opinion that it ought to be asserted. The Catholics may as well at once abandon the tombs of their fathers and relatives, as submit to the petty and tyrannical bigotry which now seeks *unjustly* and *illegally* to deprive them, at moments of the greatest and most bitter sorrow, of the awful but melancholy consolations of their holy religion.

I therefore repeat my decided opinion, that the Catholics have a right to these prayers, and that such right *should be exerted with determination, but peaceably and without any illegal violence whatever.*

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On Saturday, the 15th of November, the meeting of the Association was (by the reports by the newspapers) more numerous attended, and comprised more of the rank and wealth of the Catholic body, than upon any previous occasion.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1823.

EDMOND FOWER, of Gurteen, County Tipperary, Esq., in the Chair.

MR. O'CONNELL, in presenting the report from the committee appointed to carry into effect the resolutions respecting the burial ground, hoped that from the terms of the resolution, it would not be understood that the graveyard was intended to be one for the exclusive use of Catholics; for nothing could be further from their thoughts than a desire to follow the example of those who pursue their rancorous hostility towards Catholics even to the grave.

In wishing to preserve the ashes of their relatives and friends from unfeeling indignity and insult, it was not their wish to do so by separating from their Protestant brethren, either in this or the next world. It was their duty as well as interest to promote union, and dissipate irritation amongst Irishmen. It was upon that principle the Catholic Association was founded. It was their object to subvert that principle of perfidious persecution so much at large through all the constituted authorities, from the highest officer to the commonest constable, merely because the Catholics adhere to a religion which they believe to be true.

It was the interest and wish of the Catholic Association to abolish, as much as with them lay, all causes of domestic irritation, at a time when England was about to be arrayed against a world of perfect despotism, in which kings were every thing, and the people nothing. It was equally the inclination as the duty of the Catholics of Ireland to support that country which in Europe stands alone a bright exception to the rule of *legitimate* despotism, spite of Toryism and oligarchy, the progenitors of continental tyranny, and of that Machiavelian policy which, in France, prevented them from at once annihilating the remnant of liberty, in order the more effectually to extinguish it by frequent encroachments on the charter said to have been given by the king, as if it were not the people who create the king.

The day of retribution had at length arrived to the English Tories. They must now fight for their places and pensions. They must fight for the cotton trade of England, or give up South America to the holy leaguers. To preserve their places, they must preserve English independence; and to effect either,

English liberty must vanquish that monster of iniquity, *legitimate* despotism.

To preserve their places, the Tory ministry must abandon the characteristic principle of their imbecile policy—injustice to Ireland. England cannot suffer her right arm (Ireland) to remain paralyzed by sectarian persecutions and political degradation. Ireland must not longer continue the point of England's weakness, instead of being a portion of her strength. Instead of turning her bayonets upon—he would not call them a discontented peasantry—but a disgusted and terrified population, England must hold out the hand of fellowship, and purchase, with equal laws and equal rights, that co-operation and that friendship, without which she cannot support her independence against holy leagues, divine rights, and monarchial despotism.

The interests and objects of the Catholic Association (however they might be calumniated) were to effect that desirable change, by obtaining the abolition of Catholic grievances, which, if they could not remove in a mass, they might by fragments. He, therefore, would take them in detail, and commence with that one upon which a committee had prepared a report, which he should then have the honour of presenting.

It was a subject upon which a Catholic of sensibility could hardly trust himself to speak in public; for a man might suffer an injury to himself, but he (Mr. O'Connell) pitied the wretch who could tamely witness the bones of his friend trampled under the hoofs of Orangeism; and he confessed he had no great reverence for the founder of such anti-Christian persecution, however Doctor Magee might value the distinction.

That learned prelate, when Dean of Cork, was the first who carried the persecution of Catholics to the extremity of insulting them when about to join their kindred earth; but the priest, through whom the insult was to be conveyed, conscious that neither the legislature nor the Protestants would countenance the gratuitous and unfeeling indignity (hear, hear, from Colonel Butler), firmly but temperately refused compliance with the intolerant mandate; and here he (Mr. O'Connell) would not omit repeating an anecdote connected with that occurrence. Doctor Magee upon that occasion went to the churchyard himself, for the purpose of prohibiting the clergyman to officiate, and when there, he saw a poor woman gathering dried leaves that had fallen from the trees. He inquired from her for what purpose she wanted them, and when she informed him they were to sell

for manure, he turned her out, and sent his own servant to gather them.

There he acted legally ; no one could say otherwise, for the churchyard was his freehold, as some lawyers will have it, and he had an undoubted right to the leaves. He was left his right ; the leaves were his, but the Catholic corpse was not. He succeeded there, because he ought to do so. He triumphed over the old woman, but shrunk from the people who surrounded the funeral ; and while in Cork he no more attempted the insult, but in Dublin he revived it.

To be sure, he was drinking the waters of Cheltenham when it was attempted in Dublin, and he, therefore, considered himself authorized to deny to the people of England that he had any participation in the outrage ; but had he denied it in Dublin ? He (Mr. O'Connell) wished most sincerely that he could do so. No man would be more ready to give him credit for it, and the prelate would thereby redeem himself from an attempt to create more serious discontent amongst the people of Ireland, than any other occurrence since the infamous violation of the treaty of Limerick.

The committee had endeavoured to perform the duty committed to them on the subject of a burial ground, and their first consideration was the law of the case ; and if his legal reputation was of any value to him, he would pledge it, that there was no point of law to prevent their having burying grounds.

Having ascertained that necessary preliminary, their next object was, whether they could procure the ground wanted ; and upon inquiry they found many pieces of ground, of three or four acres, in different situations, and within such distances of the city as would answer their purpose. It had been communicated to them that burial grounds in several directions, and in proportion to the population of the district, would be more advantageous than one general burial ground for the city. The committee were of opinion that upon a subject requiring so much information, and in order to carry it fully into effect in the way most advantageous, the committee should have power to add to their number, and also to request the co-operation of Doctor MURRAY.

The following was their

REPORT.

“Your committee have endeavoured diligently to attend to the duty committed to them. They have entered zealously into the

views of the Association. They have felt it a pleasing duty to assist in calming the public mind, agitated by a species of persecution novel in its nature, and afflicting in its application. They have been desirous to take away this new subject of irritation, which has been unhappily introduced in our times, as if the Catholics were not already sufficiently afflicted, or as if it were not deemed sufficient to oppress and degrade the living, without offering insult and outrage to the dead.

“We, Catholics, have been deeply anxious to obviate this new source of animosity and resentment. Our first wish has ever been to reconcile our countrymen of all denominations. We wish to live on terms of amity and affection with our Protestant fellow-countrymen. We earnestly desire to be united with them in our lives, and not to be separated from them in death.

“But there is a different spirit abroad. Men who call themselves ministers of the God of charity, and who receive the good things of this world in great abundance for making that profession, have clothed themselves in the garb of the demon of discord, and have exercised a vicious ingenuity, in order to discover a new method of outraging the feelings of a religious and faithful people. They have gone beyond the letter, or even the spirit of the penal code, and have found out another mode of persecution, which the laws of man cannot sanction, and the laws of charity must condemn.

“Under these circumstances, we have felt it our duty as faithful subjects, anxious to maintain public peace and private tranquillity, to devise means of avoiding these occasions of irritation or violence. The genius of bigotry has deprived us, in this our native land, of our fair and just share in the administration of municipal and public trusts. We have been and are unjustly deprived of our station as freemen, because of our adherence to the religion of our ancestors; and now we are obliged to quit the tombs of those ancestors, and abandon the melancholy consolation of laying our bones with theirs, and relinquish all hope of ever resting in the same spot with them, because of our anxiety to preserve peace, and avoid the occasions of ill-will, of hatred, and of strife.

“Animated by these sentiments, your committee has entered upon the performance of its duties. It is enabled with confidence to state:—

“First.—That there are no legal obstacles to prevent the Catholics from acquiring two or more tracts of land, in the vicinage

of Dublin, for the purpose of converting them into burial grounds.

“Secondly.—That there are no practical difficulties in the way of procuring sufficient quantities of land for this purpose.

“Your Committee next beg leave to recommend to the Association, either to continue the present Committee, with augmented numbers, or to appoint a new and enlarged Committee, in order to carry into practical effect the present object.

“We take leave to suggest that the new Committee should be directed to solicit, in the most respectful manner, the co-operation of his Grace the Archbishop, the Most Rev. Doctor MURRAY, and of the Catholic rectors of the several parishes in this city, and to arrange with these reverend personages the best mode of raising the necessary funds, and of appointing proper trustees, and of arranging all the details which will be found necessary to effectuate our purpose with expedition and security.

“As we have reason to be convinced that the necessary funds can easily be procured, we deem it right to suggest, that the Committee should be authorized immediately to advertise for quantities of land, in parcels of not less than two, and not more than three acres; such parcels to be all situate within two miles, in any direction, of the Castle of Dublin.

“And this we respectfully submit as our report.

“DANIEL O'CONNELL, Chairman.

“15th November, 1823.”

MR. O'GORMAN (Secretary) reminded Mr. O'Connell of three notices, saved for him from the last day:—tithes; the extension of the Association; and the appointment of a committee to procure evidence in support of the petition, to be presented by Earl Grey, upon the administration of justice in Ireland.

MR. CONWAY thought the tithe subject might be put off, as it was to be considered next session of parliament.

MR. O'CONNELL was of opinion that the reason given by Mr. Conway for not entertaining the question, was only one why they should petition, not against the bill, but *the principle upon which it was founded*.

The bill was impracticable, and its provisions excessively oppressive. The most galling and serious grievance of the tithe system was, the inability of the peasant to oblige the clergyman to receive his tithe in kind. If there was such a provision, the peasant would escape the fangs of the tithe proctor; but that would not serve the purposes of the rapacious gentry who live by the commotions of discontent of the lower orders.

That he (Mr. O'Connell) was not exaggerating, he referred to the instance of the well-known Parson Morrit, who was offered, by the peasantry of Skibbereen, his tithe in kind, with ten shillings an acre, which he refused. What he (Mr. O'Connell) had stated was given in evidence upon oath, before a committee of the House of Commons, and was not refuted by any one.

Within a few days, a most extraordinary instance of the unaccommodating and heartless spirit with which tithes are exacted from the peasantry, had come to his knowledge personally. He was not then at liberty to mention the name of the gentleman from whom he had received the information ; but if it were necessary, he could do so in a few days. He (Mr. O'Connell) had been written to by a gentleman from the country, who stated that a Parson Morgan, of his parish, had received £1,200 per annum, in compensation for a portion of his tithes ; and in consequence, he (the writer) had served the parson with a notice to take his tithe in kind (as Mr. Scully had advised). But the parson refused taking the tithe in kind, because being corn, and owing to the state of the weather, it had been stacked, instead of leaving it on the ground, where in a few days it would have been rotted !

The writer, in order not to furnish the parson with any excuse, had, when giving him notice, taken care to pull down the stack, and give him his choice ; but as the corn had been in stack, the parson refused taking it, and, in consequence, cited the gentleman, who was determined to fight him out, for the benefit of his Catholic tenantry.

Yet these are the men who bewail the turbulence, and deprecate the discontents of the Irish peasantry, who harassed under such paltry pretences, as that the tithes were *saved* for the parson, are occasionally driven to excesses, whose consequences none feel more heavily than themselves.

He (Mr. O'Connell) was not sorry the new tithe bill had passed, for it afforded an opportunity to touch upon what was long regarded as a prohibited subject, and an invasion of the Church's rights. They (the Catholics) could now expose to the English nation, and to Europe, the oppressions of those, who, through the medium of the vilest press that ever cursed a country, exclaim against Irish civilization and Catholic agitation.

It was not possible to conceive a more fruitful source of litigation and oppression than was the tithe system. The common and the ecclesiastical law, instead of being applied to the preservation of the mutual rights of the parson and the peasant,

were transformed into the instruments of oppression against the latter ; for by the ecclesiastical law, a notice to the clergyman is necessary to oblige him to take his tithe in kind ; but the common law says no notice is necessary ; and that species of tithe, in which the peasant is most interested, is left without the protection of any statutable provision.

Every clergyman cites him to the ecclesiastical court, where he has very little chance of succeeding ; and if proceeded against by civil bill, he must abide the decision, not certainly of the parson, but frequently of the tithe *owner*. But then the peasant is told, he has his remedy, by—*an appeal to the Court of King's Bench, for a prohibition ! !* Certainly a splendid remedy for a poor peasant ! But as HORNE TOOKE once replied to LORD KENYON, when the latter told him, “ there was law in England for the poor as well as the rich ”—“ so the London Tavern is open, but who will get anything to eat in it without money ? ”

It would, however, be well for the peasant to know, that under the 12th of Geo. III., if the clergyman was served with forty-eight hours' notice to draw away his tithe in kind, he could not complain of its being stacked, nor demand payment in lieu ; but even that act was found to be unavailable, when its provisions were to be decided upon in the ecclesiastical or civil bill courts, for where three villages had given notice to the same clergyman in one day, the courts decided that was *proof of combination !*

Lord Eldon once told General Matthew, when that point was brought before the consideration of the house, that it was impossible so great an absurdity could ever have been ruled in a court where rational beings presided : and afterwards the practice had been almost generally discontinued ; but to his (Mr. O'C.'s) knowledge, it still partially existed. With such inveterate hostility was the peasant pursued by the preachers of Christianity, that where the cause might be decided by civil bill, at a small expense, it is most generally brought into the ecclesiastical court, where the assistant-barrister is frequently vicar-general. Without any disparagement, he would say of the office of assistant-barrister, admitting generally the integrity and capacity of the gentlemen who preside in these courts, that if a system to promote perjury, and the most dangerous immorality were intended, he doubted if it could so well succeed in that object as by means of this jurisdiction.

In the trial by jury, a *bonus* is given to witnesses to preserve their character—for an honest man's testimony will be received

in opposition to twenty men of bad reputation ; but in the assistant-barrister's court, it sometimes happens that the man who swears most has most credit. The conscientious witness will hesitate to go farther than his belief, if he is not morally sure ; but the perjurer, if not at first up to the necessary point, when questioned by the assistant-barrister, is soon brought just within the requisite length to justify the barrister's decree. If he be an honest barrister, he is either confounded by the swearing of numbers on one side, or is delicate in deciding upon his single opinion, against the oaths of many, upon the testimony of one. But amongst twelve men that difficulty does not exist ; for they each keep the other in countenance. Many wise men have thought it would be better that no tribunal should exist for the recovery of small debts ; and that those who gave such credits incautiously, should lose them, rather than such a facility should be given for abusing the solemn appeal to the God of Truth.

Before he concluded upon the subject of tithes, he would mention a new hardship to which the peasant would be liable, if the principle contended for by Parson Morgan were established.

When tithes were received in kind, it was considered sufficient the peasant should leave every tenth ridge, or tenth spade, and send notice when about to remove his portion ; but if he is to forfeit his right to pay in kind, because he should have previously taken any off the ground before serving notice, then he must daily call upon the clergyman before he has dug his daily portion for the use of his family. The peasant begins to dig his potatoes, for his own use, in July, and continues till November, when he gets them in for the winter.

Mr. O'Connell then moved, that on that day week a committee should be appointed to prepare a petition to parliament, praying for an act to oblige the clergyman to take his tithe in kind, when in potatoes ; and that the old mode of serving notice, when removing the crop, shall be sufficient.

The HON. COLONEL BUTLER spoke in support of Mr. O'Connell's opinions, and cited some cases of hardship.

MR. SCANLAN objected to the taking up of the tithe question by the Association ; as being thus made what might be called a *party* grievance, the co-operation of others aggrieved by it, but differing from them in other matters, could not be obtained.

MR. DWYER supported Mr. Scanlan's views ; expressing at the same time his belief that to meddle with the tithe question "would rouse the jealousy of the Protestant mind."

MR. O'CONNELL, in reply to the gentleman who had spoken

against the motion, observed that their objection was rather to its form than substance.

No man could be called the friend of the Irish peasantry, who would not seek to mitigate the horrors of the tithe system, which they did not hesitate to censure amongst themselves; nor should the Catholics be dismayed by intelligence (which did not require the respectable authority of Mr. Dwyer to confirm,) that Orange malignity would be increased by Catholics touching upon the subject of tithes.

The Catholics had suffered grievously by their apathy; but it was an experiment, and the consequence was that bigotry reared its thousand heads, and the genius of sectarian persecution stalked forth at noon-day. The Catholic question retrograded. Grey, Bennett, and Denman, the champions of reform, joined the ranks of Orangemen in persecuting the Irish Attorney-General, who was abused because he had honestly and fearlessly advocated religious liberty in Ireland.

The Catholics had no reason to fear the secession of their Protestant friends, because they (the Catholics) grappled boldly with their oppressors—nor had they to dread opposition from England, the parent of freedom, who, when she saw men emulous to prove themselves worthy of being her sons, would cheer them in their course.

There was not an honest man in the country that would refuse his support to the association, because they had extended their minds to do good to all, to universal utility, and not confine their efforts to sectarian grievances.

The opposition was then withdrawn, and the motion passed unanimously.

In pursuance of it, Mr. O'Connell moved for his committee upon Saturday, the 21st of November, being the day of adjournment.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21st, 1823.

COUNSELLOR FITZSIMON in the Chair.

MR. O'CONNELL, in rising to move for the appointment of the Committee to prepare the petition to parliament for an act to facilitate the mode of offering tithe in kind, felt great pleasure in being able to state, that no measure of the Catholic Associa-

tion was likely to give such general satisfaction, as a petition upon the subject of tithes.

Since he last mentioned the subject, he had learned that the difficulties from the clergyman's refusal of tithe in kind, were not confined to the south of Ireland, but existed also in Leinster; and that Protestant as well as Catholic smarted from the tortures of the tithe system.

The Rev. Mr. Morgan, of whom he made mention upon the last occasion, was resolved to persevere in his refusal of taking tithe in kind, though no less than thirty persons had left it for him, in all whom he served citations to the Bishop's Court. He (Mr. O'Connell) had his information from a most respectable professional gentleman named Carr, of Wexford, and who had authorized him to make use of his name, and refer to the facts in any petition to parliament. When the thirty persons, cited by Mr. Morgan, attended the court, one of the surrogates, Dr. Elgee, was absent, owing to a recent family affliction—his father had died a few days before. Of this circumstance the thirty persons were not apprised, and they had brought with them three hundred witnesses. The grief and affliction of Dr. Elgee, every one would give him credit for. He could not (it was said upon the opening of the court) take his seat, and the other surrogate refused to hear a single cause in his brother judge's absence, though Mr. O'Dogherty, king's counsel and recorder of Waterford, was brought down specially by Mr. Carr, upon a fee of *thirty guineas*.

Suddenly, it was found that Dr. Elgee's grief had subsided, and that he would sit; and upon his doing so, how did he proceed to business? Why, by calling on a case to which there was no appearance! It was the case of a gentleman, named Frizell, who, from some particular cause, could not appear personally, but by his attorney, who had paid five guineas to a proctor for permission to use his name. Upon Dr. Elgee's being told who appeared for Mr. Frizell, he inquired had he (the attorney) his proxy (a form of appointing a proctor's proxy), for no attorney will be permitted to practise in a bishop's court, unless he has gone to the expense of qualifying as a proctor. Well, there was no proxy; and the attorney who had paid the five guineas to the proctor would not be heard, and as soon as the doctor had despatched Mr. Frizell and his five guineas, he grew sorrowful again; his grief returned, and it was impossible he could hear Mr. Dogherty, the king's counsel, on the part of thirty persons attended by three hundred witnesses.

The effect of the doctor's grief having subsided was the dismissal of the counsel at thirty guineas, the attorney at five guineas, and the three hundred and thirty persons who attended at the loss of their time ; and the only case he would hear *was the one in which there was no appearance.*

He (Mr. O'C.) submitted, could there be anything conceived more cruel than the operation of a machine that moved by such a system.

Mr. O'Connell then moved the appointment of the committee, when the following gentlemen were nominated :—

Messrs. Shiel, Ronayne, Mullen, Clinch, John M'Donnell, Lynch, and Corley, with the mover and seconder.

MR. SHIEL then brought forward and spoke to a motion for "a Committee to devise the necessary measures for recovering, through the medium of the existing laws, the Catholics' rights to admission into Protestant corporations."

COUNSELLOR RONAYNE (the late Dominick Ronayne, M.P. for Clonmel) seconded the motion.

Mr. O'Connell, before the question was put in the negative, begged to observe, that it was now thirty years since Catholics became entitled to the freedom of the city, and yet there was no instance of a Catholic having that privilege from the Corporation.

He could with confidence assure the Catholics there was no legal obstacle to their possessing and exercising that right ; but whenever he had mentioned it, he found the most disgraceful apathy prevail, and sometimes the objection started that is now occasionally urged, namely, to confine themselves to seeking for general emancipation by the hacknied mode of an annual petition.

He at one time called a meeting of respectable Catholic merchants and others at a place, not that where the Catholics were used to assemble. They all appeared sensible of the importance of the object, talked a great deal, but *did nothing*—and at length he (Mr. O'C.) disgusted at such inertness, set about and discovered a Catholic named Cole, who was qualified to claim his freedom. He (Mr. O'C.) commenced legal proceedings, and Mr. Costello, as an attorney, lent his assistance ; whilst he (Mr. O'C.) was seconded at the bar by Mr. Woulfe. He (Mr. O'C.) paid the expenses ; and just as they had attained their point in the King's Bench, poor Cole died, and upon that occasion, Sir Harcourt Lees announced in his paper, that *Providence had specially interfered to preserve the Corporation from the contamination of Popery*, by the admission of a Catholic amongst them.

It was not like the recent miracles by which persons were restored from infirmity to health ; but in this it was a transference from health to death. This was one of Sir Harcourt Lee's miracles ; a transformation not at all unlikely to result from Orange contact. Such miracles are of frequent occurrence in the North of Ireland.

There were, however, at present five individuals who were qualified for claiming their freedom, which was of great practical utility to the Catholic cause ; and he trusted the question would not be permitted to sleep through the criminal indifference of some, and the inefficient support of others ; who by their occasional co-operation and long abstraction from Catholic affairs, practically combine with the enemy ; and who, though they may not have any great portion of talent, yet by keeping it neutral, take from the support of the Catholics, and consequently aid the opposition to their endeavours for Emancipation.

After a speech from Mr. Hugh Connor, Mr. Shiel's motion was put from the Chair, and unanimously passed.

Messrs. Mullen, Ford, David Lynch, and Counsellors Hayes and M'Laughlin, were, by him, appointed as the Committee.

Mr. O'Connell then stated that he should, upon the next day of meeting move—"That the association do *meet daily*, for one fortnight, in the month of January next, for the despatch of business, previously to the next session of parliament."

SATURDAY, 29TH NOVEMBER, 1823.

O'CONNOR DON in the Chair.

THE secretary announced that the Right Rev. Dr. Murray had been pleased to accede to the request of the Churchyard Committee, for his patronage, advice, and co-operation.

The routine business being gone through—

MR. O'CONNELL stated, that the Committee appointed to devise measures for asserting the Catholics' right of freedom into corporations, had already discovered upwards of a hundred Catholics entitled to their freedom ; and it was intended, if the corporation offered any litigious opposition to their admittance, to try a few cases, in all of which the corporations, if defeated, will have to pay the costs, and thereby goad them in the tenderest point.

Perhaps it was not a little curious, that one of the persons found entitled to the freedom was a namesake of his (Mr. O'C.'s) own, but that he wanted the Milesian distinction of "O." However, as he (Mr. O'C.) was one of the leaders of the clan, he would present him with the "O," upon his being made free of the city (laughter).

Mr. O'Connell then moved for the appointment of a committee to collect and furnish the facts necessary to support the petition to be presented to the House of Lords, by Earl Grey, on the administration of justice in Ireland. Mr. O'Connell observed, that when a similar petition had been presented in the House of Commons, the enemies of Ireland manfully encountered it by such general pleading as that no facts were stated in support of the allegations. Terrific as the exposures in the petition were, to high authorities, it would have been easy for the Association to have completed their effect by a statement of facts, had they thought it expedient so to do.

Indeed, it was thought to be so perfectly notorious and well-known, at least to the Irish members, that in one province of Ireland, no Catholic had a chance of obtaining justice when opposed to an Orangeman, as made it unnecessary on the part of the Association to do more than allude generally to magisterial delinquency, without punishing a second time those already convicted ; or by dragging those forward who had escaped ; and thereby harrowing up individual feelings, and throw around them the shield of partizan protection ; and they thought it a sufficient confirmation of their charges that the corruption of justice, by factious interference, and the foul spirit of party passions, had been denounced from the bench ; and in one instance by a judge of assize, not professing an over great affection for Catholics.

While in their petition they studiously excluded any allusion to the superior courts, they thought it sufficient to refer to the known prevalence of a system of magisterial corruption and oppression.

Here the learned gentleman instanced the late Leinster Circuit, as affording abundant proofs of the iniquitous administration of justice, and congratulated the county that at length juries were found who dared to be honest, and with whose verdicts the judges (with one exception) had honestly, faithfully, and fearlessly concurred. That those guilty magistrates had been dragged to the bar of public justice was owing to the voluntary exertions of some Catholic attorneys, who, at great

personal sacrifices, undertook the good work. The learned gentleman also stated, that when their petition on the administration of justice should be next presented to parliament, the abettors of corruption would be confounded by a well authenticated fact, that in one instance lately, a sub-sheriff of a county stated the price to be given for an acquiescing jury.

He then adverted to the corruption of courts of inferior jurisdiction, of corporations, manor courts, courts of conscience, &c., where conscience remains at the doors, but never goes in ; and he hoped the magistrates of Cork, who were honest, would not be displeased when he stated that there never was such a perversion of justice as in their local courts and alderman's wards, where law was administered in small doses, and bad compounds. It was also well known that in many instances the verdicts of juries were regulated by the complement of whiskey agreed, or expected to be given to them previous to their names being entered on the panel.

As to chairmen of counties, and assistant-barristers, he did not mean to speak disrespectfully of, but still less did he mean to praise them. There were many of them most respectable in private life ; but he hardly knew an instance of their having risen to their seats until it was found they never could rise if left to themselves. There was (continued Mr. O'C.) a period when the Irish bar shone as the brightest meteor in the firmament of national independence. As professional men, they must of course be occasionally on the wrong side, but formerly they gave the tone and spirit to public feeling, because they gloried in the avowal of patriotism, and dared to be honest ; but though lately, the power of the bench had neutralized the good feeling of the bar, there was a portion of it (happily for Ireland) that could not be purchased. Many were the instances of men of learning and talent, whose professional career has been impeded owing to their liberality of politics. There was one instance known to all, where a respected, admired, and able man had been made to feel the force of judicial hostility—not because he had taken an active part on the side of patriotism, but because he stood neutral. When he (Mr. O'C.) assailed by the power of the crown, threw himself upon the generosity of the bar, he found no kindred response—no professional sympathy—no cheering voice, nor helping hand ; no, he found them like a nest of vipers, but that they did not hiss, because they dared not.

Mr. O'Connell concluded by expressing his opinion, as that of

every Catholic he had spoken to on the subject, that no Catholic can safely go to trial on life or property in Dublin, where the opposite party has any connexion with the corporation, or corporation's friends.

He also commented on the late revision of the magistracy, particularly in the county of Cork, where one gentleman of large property, and who never interfered in politics, was deprived of the commission of the peace, merely because he lived in the neighbourhood of a magistrate who was desirous of reigning alone in magisterial sovereignty. Mr. O'Connell then moved for the appointment of a committee to collect such facts as may be useful in support of the petition to be presented by Earl Grey.

MR. HUGH O'CONNOR suggested, that in any petition to be presented to parliament upon Catholic grievances, it should not be omitted to dwell particularly upon the hardship to Catholic commercial men of being excluded from any participation in the management of the Bank of Ireland. He supported the proposition in a speech of some length, and was seconded by Nicholas Mahon.

MR. O'CONNELL was of opinion that Catholics *were* eligible to be Bank Directors.

But he conceived the reason the Catholics had not heretofore exerted themselves in support of their rights, was from an impression that they were not so, and that they, therefore, did not care to create enemies, when they thought they could not succeed.

The impression was entirely a mistake, in his opinion; and he for one would spare no effort to prove it so. Men should help themselves, and not stand waiting for what would *never* come—the voluntary concessions of those interested in keeping matters as they were. Those who enjoyed the monopoly would never surrender it, till the iron arm of the law should absolutely wrest it from them.

He would advise a specific application to the legislature in the next session, for the passing of a law declaratory of the Catholic's privilege to become Bank Directors. The Catholics need not expect that the Directors will ever voluntarily act otherwise than as a worthy mayor of Limerick once did, who, when there were two parties in the corporation, and he was billeting soldiers, took care not to billet any upon his own party; and when accused of the injustice, he declared he had acted with the *greatest impartiality*; for he billeted *as many soldiers' families as he could—upon the Papists!*

MR. O'CONNOR was then advised to refer the subject to a committee, which he accordingly consented to do.

The Chairman (O'CONNOR DON), before leaving the chair, begged to offer a few words to the consideration of the meeting.

There was nothing he had heard that day of which he disapproved, but perhaps their objects would be as well attained by the publication of *resolutions*, instead of furnishing their enemies with matter for animadversion, by their *speeches*!

He instanced the Catholic Convention in 1793, when the Most Rev. Dr. Troy so often presided; and the Catholic clergy united with the body of the people in their labours for Emancipation. He regretted he did not see the clergy now coming forward in like manner; and he thought the interests of the Catholics would be better promoted by *parish meetings*, where the people could take a more general share in the management of their cause, and where they could be assisted by the discretion, intelligence, and advice of their clergy.

He merely threw out these suggestions for the consideration of those better qualified to judge of their bearing than he himself.

MR. O'CONNELL observed that there was *no* disunion of sentiment between the clergy and the people.

The clergy were members of the Association, as a matter of right, and without payment. As to the convention of Catholics in 1793, just alluded to, if the Catholics had then succeeded, it was because the convention was a delegated body, who, if they had not the legislative, had the national sanction. Their proceedings had a moral force, and their measures were guided with an energy and an effect that forced from an alarmed ministry those rights which the Catholics at present enjoy.

After this the meeting adjourned.

THE DUBLIN EVENING MAIL.

UPON the 2nd of December, Mr. O'Connell had to attend a meeting of the Dublin Library Society, where, on the occasion of a motion for expelling the *Dublin Evening Mail* newspaper, for some articles passing the license of a public journal, he had occasion to make some touching allusions to the great sorrow of his life.

MR. O'CONNELL said that however the Society might differ upon politics; however strong their inclination to polemics; yet there were principles with which he hoped they all concurred, as men—as Christians.

It was contrary to all the laws of war, civilized or savage, to poison water from which an enemy might drink; and he put it to them whether that which a savage Indian would not tolerate, should be permitted by the Dublin Library Society?—whether they would sanction in political warfare the introduction of the poisoned arrows of malicious slander and personal calumny? Could they not differ upon politics or religion?—could they not

argue upon the merits of Whig and Tory, without defaming the unoffending wife, or injuring the innocent child? Could they not discuss those matters with the dignity belonging to freemen, and not with the rancour of desperate villany? The learned gentleman still felt proud, that however successful a few factious journals had been in Ireland in attaining the *style demoniacal*, yet the honor of originality belonged to their neighbours, the Scotch, as exemplified in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which the Dublin Library Society had had the virtue and manliness to exnel, not because of its politics, but for a departure from legitimate argument, and the adoption of virulence and calumny.

The London *John Bull* was the offspring of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and from thence it spread to Dublin—to the journal of Sir Harcourt Lees, who resembled a bottle of soda-water, lively and brisk, without spirit. The contagion of Scotch malignity spread its pestiferous infection to Dublin, where the *Mail*, under its baneful influence, breathed envenomed censure upon the characters of a class of men who devote their lives, and often meet their death, in the sublimest walks of charity. Would the Society, by continuing the *Mail*, verify the appellation of the members, who were described by it as apes and monkeys?—or would they, by discarding it, show the vain imbecile that their appetites were not yet so depraved, nor their stomachs so diseased, as to relish the carrion and garbage with which the *Mail* fed them?

He looked upon the members of the Society as gentlemen—he hoped they were Christians—and he trusted they would not sanction an opinion that the god of discord and the spirit of slander were the objects of their private devotions. If the Orangemen thought well of their own cause, surely they did not require the aid of such a creature as the *Mail*. To be sure, it might be a recommendation that it abused him (Mr. O'Connell), and that in the last number it accused him of want of courage. But WOULD TO GOD the *Mail* had more cause to taunt him with that failing! Would to heaven that in escaping with his own life he had not given a too sad but convincing proof that he did not want courage!

He would now give up the pleasures of his life and liberty, could the sacrifice expiate that fatal act of self-defence. [Here Mr. O'Connell became so much affected, as to be incapable of utterance for some time, during which the applause was more fervent and general than we ever recollect to have witnessed in

any assembly. Several gentlemen, his political opponents, were among the most warm applauders.]

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

SATURDAY, 27TH DECEMBER.

TITHE BILL.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to move, upon his notice for the preparing of a petition to parliament for the repeal of the Tithe Commutation Bill.

That measure, he said, had been generally complained of throughout the country, and the more it was understood, the more it was likely to meet public disfavour. It was not because there was any want of mischievous provisions in the original tithe system, but because the remedy prescribed was found worse than the disease.

That very respectable gentleman, Mr. Lidwell—than whom there was no individual better qualified to form an opinion upon the merits of the bill—had with much force and effect demonstrated the evil tendency of the measure; but though dissatisfied with it, he was not content without also making known the hardships of the tithe system, which reminded him of the familiar story of the soldier who was dissatisfied with the drummer, when flogging him, whether he hit him high or low.

It was not his (Mr. O'Connell's) wish to lay blame where it was not deserved, but it was hardly possible to cite a stronger proof of incompetency for office than was furnished by the Tithe Commutation Bill, and which was the offspring of Mr. Goulburn's legislative function. Mr. Goulburn was, he believed, an amiable man in private life, but he was of opinion that his upper story was excessively ill-furnished. Indeed, it followed that a man who came to this country for the purpose of perpetuating Catholic exclusion, must necessarily be devoid of those qualities requisite for a legislator or statesman.

Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to review the several sections of the bill.

The twenty-first section of the act provided that if the commissioners thought fit, they might direct a survey of the parish; or if they thought fit, they might not do so; or if there was an

old survey of the parish, they might make use of it. The absurdity of such a provision was evident to a man of the meanest capacity: it was no more than if the legislature declared that men might use their own eyes, or spectacles; and provided that, should they have an old pair, they might or might not use them, just as they chose. But such was generally the case with acts of parliament, particularly those originating with the government; and the difficulty of understanding them was always occasioned by the extreme quantity of verbiage with which they were encumbered, and increased by the legal prohibition against punctuation in records, though every man's experience must convince him, that where a long sentence occurs in that way, it is impossible to affix a definite meaning.

This, however, was called the wisdom of our English ancestors, to which modern legislators pertinaciously adhere, instead of adopting a single, distinct proposition, expressed in such terms as every man could understand, and as was practised by every other nation in the world. Of this we have a perfect example in the celebrated "Code Napoleon," it being perfectly intelligible even to those of the most moderate capacity, though they might not agree in the principle. But our anxiety appeared to be, that no man should attempt to explain or understand an act of parliament but a lawyer; and when it chanced to be intelligible, lawyers were found to enshroud it in mystery and doubt.

Those were trivial hardships in the Tithe Commutation Bill, compared to the substantial grievances that he should point out.

It was bad enough that, under the old tithe system, the clergy were in possession of *two millions* of green acres, and that such an anomaly should exist as the richest Church with the poorest people, who contribute to its support for the accommodation of the few. He (Mr. O'Connell) was anxious that any legislative measure upon the subject of tithes should have for its object the diminishing, and not increasing, the burthens upon the people. He should like to see the Church sufficiently but reasonably provided for, as might be effected by allowing to archbishops the same salary as chief-justices, namely, *five thousand five hundred pounds* per annum; to bishops, the salary of judges, *four thousand* per annum; and inferior clergy, *four hundred* per annum—being the same salary as assistant-barristers and chairmen of counties, who give much more labour for what they receive than do the clergy. His wish would be to see ample provision made for all, instead of the pauperism of many, and

the overgrown wealth of a few—such as the Archbishop of Armagh, having from fifteen to twenty thousand per annum. The late primate, a Scotchman, was but from eight to twelve years in his primacy, and yet he managed to carry to England *three hundred thousand pounds!*

Now, if this was an age of political economy, and that the English were the wise and thinking people they were represented, he could satisfy them, from example and fact, how they might have been saved enormous sums, paid for the performance of duties which bear no proportion to the salaries. Doctor Troy, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, performed the duties of his office for *thirty years* for no more than *eight hundred per annum*; yet he maintained his dignity full as respectably, and did five times the work of the prelate, took quite as good care of his Church, made as many converts, and lost as few proselytes as the primate. He died not worth a penny, and still his duty was as well performed as that of him who left hundreds of thousands; but this monstrous extortion had only existed because the people hesitated to speak of it as men—as rational freemen.

Mr. O'Connell then went on to show that the effect, if not the object, of the Tithe Commutation Bill, was to increase them by *fifths*; for by the sixteenth section it was provided that the average should be nothing less than that of the seven years 1814 to 1821—thus including the years 1814 and 1815, when Napoleon was upon the throne, and up to 1819, when the Bank Restriction Act was first modified—that act which created so great a nominal value on agricultural produce. The average, also, was to be regulated, not by what was even paid in those years, but by what was promised; so that, if it be thus regulated, taking the difference of prices into account, the tithe would be doubled. Instead of the tithe being, as by the old mode, payable once a year, it is, by the new bill, transformed into a *tithe rent* payable in May and November, full six months before the tithe could be productive to the farmer; whereas, by the old mode, the parson accepted of a tithe-note, payable in twelve months after harvest; so that, by the new bill, the farmer should pay his tithe eighteen months sooner than by present practice.

According to the old mode, the tithe was considered to interfere too much with the rent; but by the thirty-eighth section of the new act, the tithe was recoverable before rent, and had the priority of all executions;—so that it was not extraordinary

that the people in general should feel dissatisfied with that high flogging. By the fortieth section, if an assessment was not made, then the tithe was to be levied according to the church-rates; and could any exaction or vexation be more cruel than the increase of *church-rates* upon the Irish peasantry? The valuation is provided to be made by commissioners, one on the part of the parish, and the other on that of the parson; but should they not agree, they are authorised to call in an umpire, and, if they cannot agree upon the choice of one, to what court or judge are they to appeal? Why, to Mr. Goulburn—to the Secretary at the Castle!—so that if it should happen that a secretary had a desire to serve the parson, the commissioner for the church has only to propose some enormous tithe, to which the other commissioner cannot assent, and then the affair is determined by the Secretary!

By the thirty-first section the parish is prevented from canvassing the assessment, when once signed by the commissioners or umpire, if ever so fraudulent, unless that within fourteen days they appeal—not to any court of law, but to the Lord Lieutenant; and the whole expense of preparing the evidence in support of their appeal is to be levied off the parish. The commissioners are also to receive thirty shillings per day each; but in order to understand the spirit of delusion in which the act is drawn up, it was necessary to look to the thirtieth section, where the Lord Lieutenant is empowered to refer the appeal to the next judge of assize, to make such order upon it as he (the Lord Lieutenant) was authorized to make, either by confirming, abating, or annulling it.

Now, he (Mr. O'Connell) did not mean to say that the inconsistencies of the act were intentional, but it was rather remarkable that a power was given to the judge to annul, commensurate with that given to the Lord Lieutenant, who, it will be seen by the twenty-ninth section, has no power at all for annulling, and consequently neither can the judge. Was the error design or mistake? It was too horrible to suppose the former; and if by the latter, is it not cruel to have the fate of the country dependent upon men who can commit such blunders?

That is not all. Every man knows the advantage of a short mode of pleading. At present the parson is liable to the same mode of pleading as all others of his Majesty's subjects; but by the bill that form is done away with, and in the case of replevin for goods seized for tithe, the parson has merely to plead, without any further explanation than that he seized them

by force and virtue of the statute made and provided in that case. Heretofore the clergyman recovered costs, but in the present case he is entitled to *double costs*, let the case be ever so fair upon the part of the farmer ; and if the clergyman is wrong, he merely pays the *common costs* ; so that, if he is right, even in sixpence of his claim, he receives double costs, and that was styled *commutation* ; but it was rather of the rights than the burdens of the people, who, if they acted as they should, would leave Mr. Goulburn, the tithe, clergy, and government to the enjoyment of the bill, and seek to breathe an atmosphere untainted by tithe exactions or religious persecution.

To him (Mr. O'Connell) the absurdities and oppressive provisions of the Tithe Bill appeared to have been introduced for the purpose of reconciling the country to the tithe system, by demonstrating that there was still something worse than even that plundering law ; and he conceived the evils of the late bill were sufficiently manifest to induce them to petition for its total repeal, instead of amendments : for the greatest evils in legislation have arisen from attempts to cure defects in acts of parliament.

The Tithe Commutation Bill had, however, been of important service : for its enactment had deprived the advocates of the divine right to tithes—of the only argument upon which they relied. They had established, that interference with that species of church property was not sacrilege ; and from the present state of society there was reason to hope that the British people would no longer be deterred by such unmeaning cant from seeking that reform in church revenues as would leave the clergy leisure to attend to their missions—make them cease to be politicians, and become divines.

Mr. O'Connell concluded by observing that the Tithe Bill had also violated the conditions made as the wages of corruption, paid for the vile votes of those who trafficked upon the independence of their country, and assisted to effect the odious Union. It disregarded the provisions of the Tithe Adjustment Bill, and in every instance had done away with whatever was favourable to this country in that infamous measure ; that swindling act, that had no legal power to operate ; that was void from its formation ; and that was sanctioned by those who assumed a privilege never intended by their constituents or the constitution—an act of legislative fraud and oppression, that, as Mr. Saurin observed, made it “A QUESTION OF PRUDENCE, NOT OF CONSCIENCE, WHEN IT SHOULD BE REPEALED.”

Mr. O'Connell then moved that a petition be presented to parliament, praying the entire repeal of the Tithe Commutation Bill.

A Protestant gentleman (a Mr. Kelly) here addressed the meeting upon the same subject, and was received with the greatest attention.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to avail himself of his privilege of reply, and after a high eulogium upon the sentiments of the last speaker, and congratulating the Association upon the presence of a gentleman of his ability and liberality, he assured the gentleman that it was not his intention to censure the Protestant clergy *generally*; for he (Mr. O'Connell) had amongst them several worthy, liberal, kind-hearted, and learned friends, for whom he entertained a sincere affection, and he had also several relations Protestant clergymen, whose conduct and principles he knew and respected too highly to include them in general censure.

When he (Mr. O'Connell) expressed his disapprobation of any Protestant clergyman, he alluded to those whose conduct was known to the public, and by whom they would not be mistaken. With respect to the petition, the gentleman was mistaken if he supposed the Association composed of citizens only. They were prevented by legislative enactments from assuming a delegated character; but the Association consisted of most respectable gentlemen from every county in the kingdom, who all suffered from the Tithe Bill; and though many citizens were present, yet, like himself, they were tithe payers. As the Association was formed for the management of Catholic affairs, he conceived tithes a peculiar Catholic grievance, and therefore could not think of withdrawing the motion.

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION—24TH JAN., 1824.

COUNSELLOR FITZSIMON in the Chair.

AFTER this Mr. O'Connell proceeded to England to bring home his family, and thus was not present at the three first meetings of the Catholic Association in the year 1824.

Upon Saturday, the 24th of January, however, he re appeared in that body, to resume his portion—the *lion's share*—of the agitation.

MR. KIRWAN rose to propose a motion of which he had given the proper notice. It was to the following effect, viz.: that letters should be written to all the Roman Catholic peers, sons of peers, baronets, &c., &c., requesting of them to become members of the Catholic Association.

MR. KIRWAN spoke at considerable length to this motion, and when he had sat down—

MR. O'CONNELL, moved as an amendment, that a committee of nine should be appointed to devise the best mode of enlarging the Association.

He (Mr. O'Connell) did not approve of the mode suggested, of writing letters. The answers should be read, and it would give an opportunity to any gentleman who might differ in opinion with them, to say anything disparaging he pleased, either to gratify peculiar whim or prejudice, or perhaps neither, but merely in submission to the opinion of some interested friend, anxious to create allies to the *Warder* and *Antidote*; and these last would, no doubt, turn their assistance to account, and use those answers to the disadvantage of the Catholic Association. Thus many persons would be prevented from expressing their approbation of it, not wishing to have their families and friends traduced by the vituperated press.

He (Mr. O'Connell) differed from Mr. Kirwan in his opinion, as to the attendance of members of respectability. He remembered that during the existence of the Catholic Board, when it comprised eight hundred members, there was not a better, nor generally so good an attendance as appear at the meetings of the Association; and though he (Mr. O'Connell) had the experience of a score years in Catholic affairs, he had no recollection of more numerous attendances. The Association had certainly taken no pains to extend itself, for which it deserved censure. Every parish ought and should be visited, and inquiries made as to who would become members; or better modes might be adopted, but certainly none so injudicious or mischievous as raising dissensions amongst themselves, and consequent exposure and misrepresentation. There were difficult times before them. Tory and Orange malignity was industriously exciting in England prejudice in the doubtful, and active hostility in those who, though averse to Catholic claims, were heretofore satisfied with leaving them to the management of more *ultra* opponents; and it behoved the Catholics in defence of their interests to be watchful, and not intentionally supply their enemies with weapons of offence.

The Catholics should promote that union amongst themselves, which they had been endeavouring so long and so ineffectually to establish amongst their countrymen generally: but there was now something wanting amongst the Catholics, equally as requisite as union of sentiment. They should not cease to keep

up a necessary fund for proceeding with such measures as might be found expedient for the attainment of their emancipation ; and every Catholic in Ireland should be called upon to contribute a monthly sum from *one penny* up to *two shillings*, the utmost to which any person should be expected to subscribe. By a general effort of that kind, the people of England would see that Catholic millions felt a deep interest in the cause, and that it was not confined, as is supposed, to those styled "agitators," though, in point of law, the Association cannot represent the people, yet, as they represent the public voice, because able to guide public opinion, they would (had they such a fund as was proposed) easily detect those itinerant fomentors of discontent, who are at present distributed through the country by the enemies of Ireland, seeking to entrap the unwary, simple, credulous, starving peasant, into some conspiracy or secret association. Thus did the Catholic Board, under Lord Whitworth, when they succeeded in bringing the case so home to several individuals, that many members of the Board went to the castle, and the information and evidence were so powerfully convincing, that Mr. Saurin was obliged to order the persons to be arrested and sent to Newgate ; but they were allowed to depart without any further inquiry, or bringing them before the tribunals ; and being at large, were at liberty to renew their work of blood, and pounce like vultures upon the persecuted peasantry, who easily became a prey to their vile treachery. The value of such a fund had been already felt, as, in proportion to its influence, the disturbances through the country had ceased to be extensive. If the committee were appointed, all those matters for the extension of the Association could be considered, and Mr. Kirwan would have the opportunity of pushing his own views.

MR. SHEIL supported Mr. O'Connell's view of the case, and Mr. Kirwan was induced to give way and accede.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to propose a motion of which he had given notice. It was that an aggregate meeting should be held on the 13th of February. The notice he had given was, a resolution to hold an aggregate meeting on the 2nd of February, but he should beg leave to substitute the 13th of February, the day after term, for the day originally named.

First, he had to satisfy them that there ought to be a Catholic aggregate meeting ; and secondly, as to the change of the day. The necessity for holding an aggregate meeting, he conceived, was too obvious to require much consideration. They had pas-

sed several petitions ; those petitions were but the petitions of individuals ; then they require the sanction of the public voice. The Catholic question had at different periods various success in parliament. Three times it passed the House of Commons, and at one time it was within one of having passed the House of Lords. The conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, on a late occasion, was actuated, as his conduct ever has been, by a hatred of treachery and trick.

He took a manly and open line of conduct, but though proper at the time, its consequences were, perhaps, injurious.

The Catholic question should be kept before the public ; the Orange newspapers might, of course, continue to fling their filth on them, so much was to be had in the market of corruption, that even carrion bore a high price. He believed, however, that at least nine-tenths of the conductors of the Orange press were, in point of law, and even in belief, as much a Catholic as he was himself. Some persons, he understood, had intimated that it would be advisable to select another advocate in the House of Commons, to entrust their cause to : he hoped that their petition would never be taken from Mr. Plunkett, as long as that highly talented advocate choose to accept it. (Hear, hear.)

It had been suggested by Mr. Charles Butler, an English Catholic, that a petition for the repeal of the act which enforces the degrading oath which Protestants take, should be presented, and that the Catholics might be heard by counsel at the bar of the house.

MR. KIRWAN here observed, that no Irish advocate would be heard at the bar of the house.

MR. O'CONNELL replied, that no such prohibition existed ; previous to the Union, no English advocate would be heard at the bar of the Irish house, nor Irish at the bar of the English house ; but since the Union, as the parliament consisted of the representatives of the United Kingdoms, that objection did not now exist.

MR. KIRWAN believed, that Mr. Whitestone, the Irish barrister, was refused the liberty of pleading a case before the English parliament ; but that the Scotch advocates were entitled to the privilege.

MR. O'CONNELL and MR. SHEIL assured Mr. Kirwan he was mistaken ; Mr. Whitestone was not refused, and the Irish advocates founded their claim on the same pretensions as the Scotch—that of the Union.

MR. O'CONNELL resumed.—The repeal of the Abjuration Oath would remove all the disqualifications under which the Catholics

suffer, and the only question was, whether the rules of the house were against such mode of proceeding ; but that difficulty was removed by the opinion of the first living authority, Lord Colchester, to whom Mr. Butler applied upon the subject ; and though Lord Colchester was averse to the Catholic claims, yet he did not hesitate to pronounce that they were entitled to be heard by their counsel at the bar of the house.

The proceeding was not without precedent ; the Abjuration Oath was established in direct violation of the treaty of Limerick, which covenanted that no test oaths should be administered but those in force in the reign of Charles II., and Sir Toby Butler and Sir Stephen Rice (both barristers) were heard at the bar of the house against those oaths.

As he (Mr. O'Connell) never did any thing but what he was defamed and abused for, he expected that in the present instance it would be said, as had been by some of their *friends* (like the *Carlou Post*), that a lawyer was never honest in his political advice (laughter), and that, therefore, he (Mr. O'Connell) was recommending himself ; but he was eighteen years a politician, and had not *yet* received a bribe, save that from the Catholic people, which he should ever hold dear to his heart, and he would not be so presumptuous as to suggest himself as the advocate ; but if the people appointed him, it would not be a money gain, but a very considerable pecuniary sacrifice, and one he would be most happy to make. (Hear, hear.)

It had been said that this proceeding had been determined upon by some of their parliamentary friends, but he assured the Association, that none of those parliamentary gentlemen most interested in their cause, ever took upon themselves the responsibility of *deciding* upon any course for the adoption of the Catholics, but when consulted, they always gave their opinion and advice ; and he again assured the Association, that the recommendation of such a mode of proceeding had not originated with any member of parliament, but had the sanction of many whose opinions deserved the greatest respect.

He would, previous to the intended aggregate meeting of the 13th proximo, have an opportunity of consulting persons upon whose discretion and high intelligence he felt he could entirely rely, and the Catholics generally would have an opportunity of considering the measure against the day in question.

They would thus be enabled to decide entirely for themselves, as there was no wish to shift the responsibility of their proceedings upon any persons but themselves.]

Mr. O'Connell then moved—"That an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland be called for an early day in February."

Seconded by Mr. Clinch, and carried.

The time was now come when Mr. O'Connell thought advisable to bring forward his long meditated plan of small subscriptions. Among those to whom he had yet mentioned it, were few to encourage, and several to condemn it as a trifling, and certainly unsuccessful experiment. So wild and chimerical did it appear, that pains were actually taken to prevent his having an opportunity of bringing it before the Association.

There was a rule of the Association, that if ten members of the body were not in attendance by half-past three o'clock (the hour of meeting being three P. M.), an adjournment should inevitably take place.

It will create wonder in the minds of some of our readers, and a smile in others, to read, that with every exertion he could possibly make, Mr. O'Connell failed on several successive days, to obtain the required quorum, small as that was. Promises of attendance he did get, in much more than sufficient number; but promises not kept, or redeemed half an hour too late.

Four, five, or six might be in the room when the fatal half hour would arrive; and punctually at that moment, Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, the then secretary, would hold up his watch, which he had taken care to leave out for the preceding ten minutes, and say—

"Gentlemen, it is half-past three o'clock, and ten members not present, we must adjourn!" And adjourn they accordingly did.

At last, upon Wednesday, the 4th of February, 1824, the spell was broken. At twenty-three minutes past three, on that afternoon, there were but seven persons present, including Mr. O'Connell himself, and the *inexorable* Purcell! the latter, as usual, watch in hand, not in the least moved by the anxiety so plainly depicted in Mr. O'Connell's face. Another minute, and Mr. O'Connell could remain in the room no longer. He ran down towards Coyne's shop, down stairs, in the faint hope of finding somebody. On the stairs the *eighth* man passed him going up. In the shop itself were fortunately two young Maynooth priests, making some purchases. The rules of the Association admitting all clergymen as honorary members, without special motion, he eagerly addressed and implored them to come up but for one moment, and help to make the required quorum. At first they refused, there being a good deal of hesitation generally on the part of the clergy to put themselves at all forward in politics; and these young men in particular, having all the timidity of their secluded education about them. But there was no withstanding him, partly by still more earnest solicitations, and partly by actual *pushing*, he got them towards the staircase, and upon it, and finally into the meeting-room, exactly a second or two before the half-hour, and so stopped Mr. O'Gorman's mouth.

The required number being thus made up, the chair was taken (by William Coppinger, Esq., of Cork), the business entered upon, and Mr. O'Connell was enabled to unfold his plan.

The two poor priests, who had so reluctantly, and almost unconsciously done such good duty, shrunk away timidly a few moments afterwards, but as there was no "*counting of the house*" in the Association's code of laws, their presence was no longer necessary.

The following was Mr. O'Connell's speech, according to the best report that we can find:—

MR. O'CONNELL rose to report from the committee appointed to consider the best means of increasing the funds of the Association and its members.

The first duty of the committee was to consider the legality

of the measure. The Association were resolved, from principle, duty, and inclination, not to involve the interests or safety of the Catholic body by any illegal course; and they defied the Orange press to point out, through their whole proceedings, a single illegal act, or a solitary measure tending to a breach of the law. If any thing of the kind could be shown, he assured the meeting he would be one of the first to recommend an alteration of their course.

In considering whether the Association was legally constituted, it would be necessary to refer to the 60th Geo. III. c. 6, one of those statutes commonly called the "Six Acts"—acts which pressed very heavily upon what we familiarly term "English liberty." Four of these acts were permanent, the other two were temporary. One of these was to expire upon the 24th of December next; but it was worded in such a manner as that it might be continued for another year, at the pleasure of the minister. For, according to this curious and clumsy mode of legislation, if the session of parliament were then going on, the act would be in force for another year.

The sixteenth section of this act specifically stated, that it did not apply to meetings held in a private room. The Association, therefore, could not be possibly brought under it—not being assembled, or intended to be assembled at any time in the open air—but within doors, and in a room. The fourth of the present king, chapter 87, was enacted under the pretence of preventing Orange meetings; but it had had no other effect than that of destroying the freemasons, and perfecting a system for the increase of Orangemen. This he should prove by some very curious documents, which he intended to deposit with the secretary, after reading them at the aggregate meeting, and in which would appear the proceedings of the Orange committee of 1821, for devising the best means of increasing the Orange fraternity.

At the head of the committee was Master Ellis, a member of the legislature, whose enactments he thus sought to frustrate; and next in dignity was Alderman Darley, the chief magistrate of police, whose duties, if fulfilled, would be to prevent, and not encourage what appeared to him (Mr. O'Connell) a breach of the law; and in order to sanctify the measure, Sir Harcourt Lees, a baronet and a minister of the Gospel, was the third in authority.

The act last mentioned had not put down Orangeism, much less could it put down the Catholic Association, which was not bound by any test, recognised by no sign or symbol, and which

did not hold its meetings clandestinely, but openly and publicly. The Association might, therefore, defy the malice and persecution of those who sought for its abolition.

Upon the subject of increasing the funds of the Association, he was desirous of being perfectly understood, although he expected to be abused for the proposition he should submit to the meeting. He could not lay claim to originality in the project, for it had appeared in a letter from Lord Kenmare, in the year 1785, addressed to Dr. Moylan, and published during the time the celebrated Arthur O'Leary's powerful Essays occasioned such a sensation. Lord Kenmare, however, justly beloved by his tenantry, was loaded with public censure for his conduct upon the Catholic question. It was painful, indeed, and bitterly to be regretted, that this should be the case; but it was inevitable under the circumstances.

Having expressed his sorrowful disapprobation of the Earl of Kenmare's conduct, Mr. O'Connell said, that it would indeed be unjust, and most reprehensible upon his part, were he for a moment to hesitate to express his entire and decided conviction, that although his lordship was unfortunately mistaken in the *means*, yet his *intention* was thoroughly pure and honourable, and his conduct really directed, as he thought, in the right way, towards the attainment of Catholic emancipation.

With regard to the plan he had alluded to, the following were Lord Kenmare's words:—

“There are,” said his lordship, “two thousand five hundred Catholic parishes in the kingdom. Let us only make a rent of one pound sterling a year, upon each parish, and that accumulating and forming a permanent fund, will be a powerful ally in the contest for emancipation.”

But his (Mr. O'Connell's) plan was still more comprehensive, and he did not hesitate to say, that it would, with very little exertion, produce *one hundred and twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and thirty-seven pounds, ten shillings*. He liked to give them down to the very *shillings of it*, and had there been pence, he would give them the pence too. (Laugh, and cheers.) Suppose, however, that the product was less than one-half that sum. Say it would be *fifty thousand* pounds, although one penny per month from each Catholic in Ireland, ought surely to yield a sum considerably above that amount.

Indeed there could be no doubt of it, that fifty thousand pounds was a sum far below what the general contribution he had named would amount to, estimating the population by the

last census. That census was known to have been very imperfect. In the county of Mayo alone, during the year of the scarcity, the numbers relieved exceeded by thirty thousand the stated population of the county, as returned in the last census. It would follow then, of necessity, that if the census of the other counties was deficient in proportion, the population of the entire of Ireland was far above eight millions.

Taking it at that number, he (Mr. O'Connell) claimed seven of those eight millions as Catholics. Their ratio of increase had been ascertained. In the year 1731, there were in Dublin 8823 Protestant families, and 4119 Catholics. In the year 1810, the Rev. Mr. Whitelaw, a Protestant clergyman, states, in his census of Dublin, that the Catholics were as six to one; thus there was upwards of six, probably *seven* millions, or even upwards, of Catholics in the country. The sum proposed to be raised was £50,000; and if the Catholics of Ireland were to pay but one penny a month, if but *one* million of them, instead of the *seven* millions were to pay it—being, as it would of course be, only one shilling expense to each individual, the money could be had easily. That the facility existed was obvious, since the Orangemen had already charged them with having *actually levied* the money. He wished the fellows had been right for once. (A laugh and cheers.)

About the year 1812, he (Mr. O'Connell) had himself proposed, and had set on foot a temporary subscription, and in three parishes alone, he had collected seventy-nine pounds, which had gone into the funds of the Catholic Board. The collection would then have been continued under a regular organization, but that miserable disputes arose between what were called the Catholic aristocracy, and the Catholic democracy, and upset everything. No such result should occur now. He would carefully superintend and work out most perseveringly every detail of his plan, and would not abandon it but with life. He was thoroughly and entirely convinced not only of its practicability, but of its certain efficaciousness for its purposes.

Before he should enter more minutely into any of those details, it would be necessary that he should state the object for which the funds were required, and the manner in which they were to be applied. Nothing could be more natural than that men should require to know for what they were to pay, and nothing more proper than they should have that stated fully and distinctly, before being called upon.

There were, then, five distinct, definite, and decided objects in view. He would take them one by one. The first of these objects was, the collecting and conveying to parliament the petitions of every county in Ireland, not only on the subject of Catholic emancipation, but upon that of every other grievance, of whatever kind, which pressed upon the country; also there was the purpose of retaining what he believed to be quite indispensable to a proper care of their business—a parliamentary agent in London, at a salary of four or five hundred pounds a year, to attend to the proceedings in parliament having reference to the Catholics, and take such steps there as might be advisable. For this duty he should take leave to mention Mr. James Roche. He did not know a gentleman more qualified in every respect to fill a situation of so much importance, and so necessary as this was. He did not exaggerate its importance, nor its clear advisableness. The foreign dependencies of Great Britain had each their own self-chosen parliamentary agent in London, watching the parliamentary and other transactions there; and why should Ireland not have hers? There would, of course, be various expenses attending the petitions of which he had spoken, and also attending the bringing to town evidence to support their statements. He would set apart £500 a-year to meet these items.

The second object that he proposed they should have in view, would be to encourage, and by effective support to enable the liberal press, both of London and Dublin, to contend with the Orange press, which is paid to revile everything liberal. The *Patriot* and the *Correspondent* were, to be sure, *honest*, after a fashion; they abused everybody that spoke against the government, and supported every government and every ministry that chose to pay them for doing so. They got their pudding, and they tried to deserve it.

But among those public prostitutes, there was what might be called the volunteer part of the Orange press, cherished indirectly by government, and avowedly by the established clergy. He meant the *Antidote*, the *Warder*, and the *Mail*. The *Mail*, that was too fashionable to be thought to belong to its own religion. There was also to be another paper which had put forth a comical piece of impertinence, by way of prospectus, and which he supposed he might class amongst them. These publications never yet breathed a word in favour of liberty, and are strangers alike to kindness, liberality generosity, or good feeling of any sort.

He (Mr. O'Connell) was, with them, a scoundrel, not because they hated him, but because they thought abuse of him was grateful to their employers.

In fact, the Orange press was a perfect picture of Orange principles ; in no one instance was there to be found a sentence that bespoke a spirit of nationality, a sense of the value of liberty, or a desire for unanimity and good fellowship amongst Irishmen. No ! it nourished faction, and spread discord and deadly hatred between men who should live as brothers. It fattened upon that which a sound constitution or an honest mind would fling from it with loathing and disgust, fearing to be poisoned by its rancorous vileness. It was a singular fact, that these wretched publications were exclusively conducted by renegades.

He would not, however, confine his view to the press of Dublin. They had more formidable enemies at the press of London. The papers most in circulation were divided into shares, and in many instances held by those whose personal politics were strongly opposed to the principles advocated by the paper from which they derived a considerable revenue. A fact connected with that subject was so curious and so apposite, that he could not refrain from mentioning it. The late Mr. Ricardo, so resolutely opposed to ministers in his political career, was a very extensive shareholder of the *Courier*, of which there were twenty-four shares, and which derived its support from abusing himself amongst others who, certainly, however, were not benefited by the abuse as he was.

The *Times* was another mercantile speculation, and money—money was the object. It abused and supported the Catholics alternately, just as a purpose was to be answered by it. The *Morning Chronicle* had long and effectually supported the Catholics, but it had now become a more trading concern, after having passed from the hands of him who never would have condescended to drag it through the mire with which its pages are now daily sullied. No ; he (the late Mr. Perry) was too stanch a whig, and too high-minded a man for conduct like this. The present editor of the *Chronicle* is a sour, Scotch sectarian ; one of those who, without believing implicitly in Christianity, assume its principles, in order to hate and persecute more effectually. Now a few pounds sterling might have a great effect upon a sour Scotch sectarian, if not swayed by the same generosity that induced some of his countrymen in Edinburgh to subscribe a few half guineas, in order to educate the Irish people. For the press,

then, he would allow £15,000, and for the first head of expense he had said £5000, making in all £20,000.

The Orange faction have become active. They are on the alert. They have locked the Marquis of Wellesley to their chariot wheels, and dragged him to their Orange club feasts, without his making one stipulation that the sentiment of offence, the personal application of which was understood, and which no one having a respect for Catholic feeling could sanction, should not be given : and scarcely was his back turned, when, as if to show that their silence in his presence was not from any deference to his wishes, but the effect of a forced etiquette, the toast was given, for drinking of which he dismissed one of his own officers. Hitherto Orange strength was concealed, because it was of a mixed quality, and hid beneath the shield of government ; but at present it despises protection or disguise, and openly opposes government, which it had taken captive. But who would say the captivity was not voluntary upon the part of the government ?

The Marquis had acquired a high character in India, and like many who had amassed wealth in that clime, he feared that he had returned to Ireland but to enjoy his ease in expending it in his native country.

Throughout the country the people stood in need of legal protection. This idea might be sneered at as coming from him, but it was really frightful to think of the oppressions which it was in the power of a magistrate, tinged with Orange principles, to inflict upon the people. With a view to meet this, he would apportion £15,000 a year towards procuring legal protection for the Catholics against Orange oppression. He had now disposed of £35,000 a year, and trusted the objects he had detailed were such as would meet the entire approval of the Catholic body.

He had next to turn their attention to the subject of the education of the poor. It had been said by the Orange press, and by the saints of the Association in Kildare-street, that the Roman Catholic clergymen were inimical to the education of the poor. Nothing could be more false. The hypocritical saints had, however, become agitators, it appeared, and had taken on themselves to arraign peers in parliament.

Let any one compare the crowd of busy bright faces coming out of a Catholic school, with the silent few coming from one of the Society's schools, where the scholars are furnished with the Charter School Catechism. It would be necessary also that the Catholic children should be provided with books untainted by

any doctrine opposed to their own faith. The government were much and grievously in fault to continue the system of subsidizing with thousands of the public money, the parties who were employed in teaching the Charter School children little else, but to hate with inveteracy their neighbours of a different religion. For the use of the Catholic schools, and for the purchase of books, he would allow £5000.

The fifth purpose for which the fund should be applied, he would now explain. He had received a letter from the Right Rev. Dr. England, Roman Catholic bishop of Charleston (than whom a more pious divine, a better Christian, or more learned prelate was not to be found), stating that Catholic priests were much wanting in America, particularly Irish ones, and as the resources for educating the Catholic clergy were scanty, and totally inadequate, he would propose a grant for that purpose. It was notorious, that notwithstanding the thousands granted by parliament to Charter Schools and the Kildare-street Society, the Catholic College of Maynooth received but an annual grant of £8000. The French government were now very anxious to educate as many Irish priests as possible, not indeed for any hostile purpose, but from a desire to retain the funds left by Irish families, his (Mr. O'Connell's) own amongst the rest, for the education of Catholic priests, and for which funds the English government neglected to apply, when they might have done so effectually, and were urged to it by the Irish Catholic prelates.* There were many objections which should influence a paternal government solicitous for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, against having the Catholic clergy educated in France, and induce them to make a sufficient allowance to the Catholic college, for the purpose of assisting in the education of Catholic clergy at home. Our government seemed insensible to these considerations, and therefore he would allot a sum of £5000 for the purpose he had stated. There would then remain of the £50,000, £5000, and that sum should be held over to accumulate, and be applied to the building, and for building chapels, taking farms in the several parishes, and erecting a house upon each for the Catholic clergymen, &c., &c.

He had now stated the objects for which he sought to raise the money, and he had but to recall to their minds the means by which he proposed it should be got. If only one million out

* Finally, the English government *did* apply, and got a considerable sum of "indemnity"-money from the government of Louis XVIII., but spent the most part of it on old Buckingham Palace!

of the seven millions subscribed but a single penny a month only, they would have more than sufficient for their purpose. They could enter the several parishes in a book, and call it the "Eman-cipation Rent," or the "Slave Rent." A circular letter should also be prepared, stating that they would not take more than two shillings per month from any individual, and expecting only one penny a month for each. Thousands of orphans were supported in Dublin by one penny per week. The first year he thought they would get, at the least, one million of shillings, and it was a million to one but they would get double that number next.

The great difficulty would be, not to get the money, but to collect it. He was himself, in general, as busy as most men, but he would engage to collect his parish. They could not fail but from the voluntary abandonment of their plan, and he for one would, as he said before, and now repeated, never abandon it but with his life.

The first Protestant to whom he had mentioned the plan, offered him his money upon the instant. It was in his study that very morning and the subscription was pressed upon him. He (Mr. O'Connell) had, of course, not consented to receive it yet, as the plan had not been as yet adopted by the Association; but he felt, that although the courtesy was small, the kindness which prompted it was great, and he drew a good omen for the future from it. He felt assured that more than half the Protestants in the kingdom would subscribe, when the legitimacy and fitness of their object should be seen by them.

Their carrying this plan vigorously into effect, would show to the government how anxious the Catholics of Ireland were for emancipation, and by acting thus in unison, they would win their way on the public mind. If they had money enough, they need not fear being efficiently represented in parliament. Though the law said no seat in parliament could be purchased, yet it was contrived to dispose, by some means or other, of seats for *friendship's* sake; and the Nabob of Arcot, it was well known, had had at one time the property of five borough seats in the house, and what was practicable to him, was so to others. Catholics might also obtain an influence, should it seem proper to attempt doing so in the indirect modes which others used so frequently, and which would continue until nomination boroughs should finally be got rid of.

The two objects for which he had given notice of a committee, were so distinct, that he now considered it necessary to move for the appointment of a separate committee for each purpose.

The motions were agreed to unanimously.

On the 14th of February, Mr. O'Connell reported from the committee appointed to consider the best means of increasing the funds of the Association

He had at a former meeting, stated in detail the plan of subscriptions, of which the Association had been pleased to express approval. His observations during that statement, had occasioned a great accumulation of abuse, directed against himself, but abuse for which he had been, and always was quite prepared, and careless about.

Having put his hand into the hornet's nest, he could not expect but that attempts would be made to sting him.

His (Mr. O'Connell's) observations upon the *London Morning Chronicle* were founded upon inferences drawn from facts, such facts as, that the *Morning Chronicle* had heaped the most rancorous and monstrous abuse upon the Catholic religion; had attempted to confirm and strengthen the prejudices of the English people against the Catholic claims; had libelled and calumniated the religion of five-sixths of the people of Europe, the religion of Alfred, of Edward, of Sir Thomas More, and Fenelon; had audaciously styled the Catholic religion as one that can only be professed by knaves or fools. Could there be a more offensive imputation, though obviously groundless? for he (Mr. O'Connell) would ask, what was the inducement, that as *knaves* they should adhere to a religion, for which in this life they were made to suffer rigorous persecution and deprivation of the rights of free-born men, and that as *fools* they should forfeit their temporal advantages, at the risk of damnation hereafter.

Those charges of immorality, brought against the Catholic religion by one differing in faith, not only from it, but the religion of the state, and advanced with such acrimony, justified in his (Mr. O'Connell's) opinion the appropriate appellation of "sour sectarian" bestowed on the person from whom they had proceeded. The *Morning Chronicle*, since it had become a mere mercantile speculation in the hands of the present proprietors, had ceased altogether to give anything like fair play to the Catholics.

In this opinion he was not singular. (Hear, hear.) He had received a letter upon the subject, a part of which he would read. The letter was received from Preston, from a member of a society formed in that town, called "The Catholic Defence Society," associated for the purpose of refuting, through the press, the numerous calumnies so industriously propagated against the Catholic religion. The letter stated that in the

town of Preston there were many Catholics, all of whom lived upon the most friendly terms with their Protestant neighbours, who subscribed liberally to the support of some Catholic charities. The letter then proceeded to state, that there were several Catholics of rank in the neighbourhood ; and the writer regretted the apathy that seemed to exist amongst them, and that it was only the working and middling classes that felt particularly anxious on the subject of Catholic grievances. The society approved of the plan suggested by him (Mr. O'Connell) for increasing the funds of the Association. They were about to adopt it in Preston, and had every hope of its success. "The *Morning Chronicle*," continues the writer, "has well deserved the censures of the Catholic body. The press, by a judicious and vigorous exercise of its powers, could remove the accumulated prejudices of centuries against the Catholics, and convince the credulous that they have been imposed upon by ignorance and malicious bigotry ; but the *Morning Chronicle*, since its change of proprietors, has taken an opposite course, and its efforts appear directed to strengthen and perpetuate the ancient, though now fading prejudices of the English Protestants against Catholic Emancipation."

Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to read the report of the finance committee ; after which he moved that it should lie on the table, in order to be submitted to the consideration of the Association on Wednesday next.

The report recommended the several allocations proposed by Mr. O'Connell, when he submitted the plan to the Association, viz. :—

For parliamentary expenses	-	-	-	-	£5,000
For the services of the press	-	-	-	-	15,000
For law proceedings, in preserving the legal privileges of the Catholics, and prosecuting Orange aggressors	-	-	-	-	15,000
For the purpose of education for the Catholic poor	-	-	-	-	5,000
For educating Catholic priests for the service of America	-	-	-	-	5,000
					£45,000

The surplus sum of five thousand pounds should be suffered to accumulate, in order to repair and build Catholic chapels and schools, to procure accommodation for the Catholic clergy, and facilitate their efforts in every way towards improving their parishes, to meet contingencies, &c.

"The report also recommended the appointment of treasurers and trustees, with whom the subscriptions should be lodged,

and that he (Mr. O'Connell) should be appointed secretary for correspondence with the several parishes in Ireland, upon the subject of subscriptions, and Mr. James Sugrue his assistant-secretary ; and that no grant of money should be paid out of the fund, without having been first considered by the finance committee, and duly sanctioned by the Association.

The subscription to be called "the Monthly Catholic Rent," for which no greater sum should be expected than *one farthing* per week, nor higher expected than sixpence per week, to be paid by the several Catholics of the different parishes, whose names should be entered in the subscription books, and an account of them weekly transmitted to the Association.

Mr. O'Connell added, that the members of the Association would not be required to subscribe, in addition to their annual payment of one guinea. They would be required to allocate their guinea to the subscriptions of some parish ; that to which they individually belonged, or any other they might choose to fix upon.

He (Mr. O'Connell) entertained not the slightest doubt of the plan succeeding, where the individual sacrifice would be so trifling, and the advantages to be obtained so important. The collection would be the only difficulty—but that obstacle, it was hoped, would be overcome by the arrangements of the committee.

Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to detail the purposes to which the subscription should be applied, namely, to enable the Association to lay before the parliament an authenticated and detailed history of all the Catholic grievances ; to bring before the legal tribunals cases of Orange outrage and magisterial oppression ; to maintain and preserve those legal privileges to which the Catholics have been entitled for the last two-and-thirty years, but of which they have enjoyed very few indeed : and finally, to inspire the Catholic peasantry with a confidence in the protection of the laws, by showing him, and making him practically know that an institution had arisen, whose object was, that no village despot, no magisterial tyrant, nor sectarian bigot, shall be longer permitted to make the law subservient to the purposes of persecution and oppression, instead of to the administration of justice, and the preservation of the peace.

The mere certainty that such a body existed, would render this assistance unnecessary, their enemies speedily becoming aware, that they could not any longer offend with impunity.

MR. FITZSIMON seconded the motion, and it passed as usual.

MR. PLUNKET objected to the allocation of Irish Catholic rent to the education of priests for America.

MR. KIRWAN defended the conduct of the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, without approving of the late politics of that paper.

MR. CONWAY deprecated abuse of the press.

MR. O'GORMAN protested against impunity to calumny, in the press.

MR. SHEIL apprehended the conductors of the London press had made a mistake respecting Mr. O'Connell's proposed allocation of money to newspapers.

MR. O'CONNELL reiterated the opinions he had before avowed, respecting the editor and proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

After which, and some unimportant business being gone through, the meeting adjourned.

The attacks upon Mr. O'Connell for his new, and yet scarcely developed plan of the *small subscriptions* to the "Catholic rent," were by no means confined to the Orange press. A great number amongst the Catholics scouted the idea as childish and ridiculous. Boys will catch up, and reflect the opinions of men, and the writer well recollects that he himself was for some time much jeered at by several of his schoolfellows, for his father's "*penny-a-month plan for liberating Ireland*."

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18TH, 1824.

FREDERICK WILLIAM CONWAY, Esq., in the Chair.

MR. O'GORMAN read a report from the burial committee, stating that several advantageous offers of sites had been made to them, none, of course, being accepted until the arrangements should be forward for raising and supplying the necessary funds.

The report of the committee for devising the best means to increase the funds of the Association, having been read—

MR. NICHOLAS MAHON objected to its being adopted—accusing it of indiscretion and rashness. He proposed its postponement until after the aggregate meeting.

Various opinions having been expressed on this subject, MR. O'CONNELL, who came in during the discussion, said, that from the length of the report, and the variety of its topics, he thought it very proper to postpone the consideration of the report, but wished to move the adoption of the resolution for setting the subscription on foot.

MR. N. MAHON could have no objection to that course, as there was nothing objectionable in the resolution.

MR. O'CONNELL, in reply to the observation, that the report contained angry expressions, assured the meeting that it was drawn up "more in sorrow than in anger," for never was there so unfavourable a prospect for the Catholic cause as at the present moment. Never was there so slight a pretence for resisting their claims, and never so formidable a combination to oppose them. Mr. O'Connell then moved several resolutions, which originally formed part of the report.

"The following is the substance of those agreed to:—

“That a plan of subscription be adopted, to be called ‘*The Monthly Emancipation Rent.*’

“That a secretary and assistant-secretary be appointed to collect the subscriptions.

“That the secretary do immediately open an account, and enter the amount of money paid by each parish.

“That collectors for each parish be appointed to receive subscriptions, and that no greater number than twelve, nor less than three, be appointed for each parish.

“That a monthly report be laid before the Association of the amount and progress of subscription in each parish.

“That the names of the subscribers be published, unless such as wish to be unknown.

“That the amount of subscriptions, debtor and creditor, be published annually.

“That all subscriptions received by the secretary be immediately paid over to the treasurer.

“That a committee of twenty-one be appointed to manage the subscriptions, to be called a committee of accounts.

“That no money be paid without having been first recommended by the committee, and afterwards sanctioned by the Association.

“That the amount of subscription be one penny per month from each person, and not to exceed two shillings.

“That the subscription of one guinea to the Association, be deemed a part of the contribution.

“That Mr. O'Connell be appointed secretary, and Mr. James Sugrue, assistant-secretary, for collecting subscriptions.

A discussion then took place as to the necessity of adjourning the aggregate meeting to some future day, in consequence of the resolutions and petitions intended to be submitted to the meeting not being ready.

After which the Association adjourned.

Upon the 21st February, their next meeting--

MR. O'CONNELL stated, that some of the London papers had said that Mr. Sheil accused him of entertaining the opinions of Tom Paine! Of course, this was unfounded. Mr. Sheil never did so.

As to himself, he could not—although the miserable calumny was scarce worth his while—bring *himself* to forego the opportunity of once for all giving the most public denial to this malignant and most contemptible insinuation.

He declared that no man had, or could possibly have, a

more thorough and entire conviction of the divine truths of Christianity, and the abominable falsehood of Paine's impious doctrines.

It was quite well known to him who was the author of the illiberal observations upon him in the British press. He knew the connexion with the Marquis Wellesley, the connexion with the British Stamp Office, through which the paragraph came. He knew the individual who, for writing a pamphlet in favour of Lord Melville, gained the situation he now holds; and it was from a point of Christian forbearance, that he refrained from mentioning his name, and observing upon him as he merited.

That individual had been able to discover that he (Mr. O'Connell) was devoid of talent. That important discovery, however, came, fortunately for him (Mr. O'Connell), a little too late. It reminded him of a gentleman, who, after he was made a judge, congratulated himself, that the government had not discovered, until after his elevation, that he was *no lawyer*.

So, as to himself, the discovery was not made until he had attained that station in his profession which rendered that discovery of no avail. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. O'Connell next moved upon his notice, for changing the hour when the Association should adjourn from want of a sufficient number of members present to authorize the chair being taken.

He then proposed the following resolution which was agreed to :—

"That in future the chair be taken at any time between the hours of three and five o'clock, as soon as ten members be present."

Mr. O'Connell again rose and said, that though various homicides had been committed during the last year by the Orangemen, no trial of the perpetrators had taken place; the effect of which had been, that Orangemen considered they might shed Catholic blood with impunity, and the Catholics thought them protected from punishment.

The late atrocious outrage in the North, where Orangemen deliberately took their stations upon the road, in order to shoot Catholics, was brought home to the parties, by the vigilance and honesty of a magistrate, Mr. Hamilton. A coroner's jury had declared it wilful murder; and yet it may happen, that if the parties are not properly prosecuted, they may be acquitted by an Orange jury, and the Orange body may thank them, and declare them deserving of a reward.

When the crown undertook any prosecution of Orangemen in the North, the proceeding never had the cordial co-operation of the Catholics. It was believed that a principal officer who conducted these proceedings, was a dignitary of the Orange institution ; and when it was known that that body had their private signals, and that the members of it were individually influenced by some obligation, that the authority of the House of Commons could not wring from a dependent of the government (Sir A. B. King), was it unreasonable that the Catholics should have little confidence in proceedings conducted under the auspices of one of their chiefs ?

He did not mean to say but that the gentleman alluded to discharged his duty fairly and honestly ; but he was in such a situation as made it difficult not to lean to the party accused. He did not make the assertion slightly, or without foundation, as it was grounded upon documentary evidence, which he should take care to have with him in proper order and arrangement to furnish to the aggregate meeting, and deposit with the secretary. There was the sanguinary affair at Maghera, where Campbell was shot, and at which his sister, who was to have been married in a few days, was present ; but the sight of her brother being slaughtered, had such an effect upon her that she instantly became deranged, and has continued so. Here was the brother slain, the sister a maniac, and yet the ruffian perpetrators remain unpunished ! While the Orangemen are calling out to the government for persecution against the unfortunate Catholics, hallooed on by the *Warder* and the *Antidote*, both of which, they boast, are supported by the contributions of Protestant clergy, while the Orange lodges are sedulous in supplying arms to those of their brethren who are unable to purchase them.

Under such circumstances, it was of consequence to have the plan of subscription already approved of by the Association, established as quickly as possible, in order to supply a fund for the conducting of those prosecutions, in the first instance. For that purpose it would be desirable to have the report, accompanying the plan of subscription, published, that it might get into every one's hand, and thereby promote the collection. In publishing the report he did not intend that it should be considered as adopted by the Catholic Association, but that the Catholics might have an opportunity of considering it. There were a few verbal alterations which he considered necessary, and they should be made.

The term, limited intellect, as applied to Mr. Goulburn, had been objected to ; but he (Mr. O'Connell) could not suppose the observation would be considered as applied to Mr. Goulburn in a mere personal sense ; it was used in allusion to his capabilities as a statesman. It was one of the cruelest consequences of Catholic degradation, that men speculated upon their advancement in office or enjoying the favour of government, by opposing Catholic claims ; and so it was with Mr. Goulburn, who, when in the office of Colonial Secretary, had stood up in the House of Commons, when the Catholic Relief Bill was there under discussion, to object to its provisions extending to the colonies of Great Britain, as if there were no such authority as a colonial legislature or a prerogative of dispensation in the king, to each of which such a provision must be subjected.

Though Mr. Secretary Goulburn betrayed upon that occasion his utter want of legislative and official information, yet he manifested hostility to the Catholics ; and that was quite sufficient to obtain for him the favour of ministers. The secretaryship for Ireland followed ; and if he persevere, he may soon become a prime minister of England—talent not being now considered a necessary qualification for that office.

But Mr. Goulburn has, perhaps, rebutted the charge of limited intellect, in not only sustaining the Orangemen, but falling in love with the Dublin corporation, thereby evincing his discrimination in patronizing a body that has never done anything for the citizens of Dublin, but form processions for the amusement of schoolboys—raise the price of coals by excessive extortions and fees—increase the price of provisions by their market exactions and tolls—levy unauthorized contributions upon the people ;—in fine, an association for the encouragement of anti-national feeling—a cumbrous, expensive, unmanageable machine, that he defied any person to shew had ever effected any practical good for the citizens of Dublin, or the country generally.

MR. KIRWAN, in a short speech, seconded Mr. O'Connell's motion for printing the report, but objected strongly to several passages. Several other gentlemen spoke for and against.

MR. O'CONNELL defended the report. It was surely a strong argument in its favour, that after having been scrutinized with such criticism as to discover verbal improprieties, they were not able to produce any specific objections to its principles. How

could the merits of the document be considered, unless it were first made public? The objection reminded him of a club in London, called "the Odd Fellows," in which, after a long debate as to the appointment of a treasurer, the secretary reminded them that before they appointed a *treasurer*, they should first have a *treasury*. The objection was so forcible, and betrayed so much common sense, that the Odd Fellows all gathered around the secretary, and gave him a good drubbing for being an *odd* fellow amongst them, as he was the only one that had common sense; now, if Mr. O'Gorman was amongst the *Odd Fellows*, he would be quite at home. (Laughter and cheers.)

MR. O'GORMAN—I am pretty much so now.

The chairman was about putting the question, when MR. N. MAHON entered the room, and upon learning the subject matter of debate, implored Mr. O'Connell, that in mercy to the Catholic people, he would not press a measure that might involve the Catholics of Ireland. The whole tenor of the report, in his opinion, was conceived in terms highly indiscreet. The allusions to the heir-apparent were improper and injudicious.

MR. O'CONNELL replied. Who, he asked, would devote their time and attention to the Association, if their measures were to be thwarted by such childish opposition? Had the Association yet effected one political good? It was time they should commence. There was now the opportunity, and it should not be lost through neglecting the means; if they had subscriptions, they could apply them advantageously; if they had them not, it would be owing to their not informing the people of the necessities and the benefits of such a fund. This was the object in publishing the report, without waiting for its adoption.

With respect to the mention of the Duke of York, did not the Orangemen boast, that his royal highness was the declared and avowed opponent of the Catholic people? Were the Catholics to be like woodcocks, hiding their heads in bushes, thinking that when their heads were covered, they could not be seen? What would they gain by disguising the truth? or were they likely to retard their emancipation by speaking out boldly and candidly? The reverse was his opinion, for the royal personage would then see how sorely and keenly the Irish people felt his supposed hostility to their cause. The prize was too valuable; he would not risk losing the brightest ornament in the British diadem. He could not afford to lose the loyal attachment of seven millions of Irish subjects, by alienating their affections, which they were ready to pledge him if he but fol-

lowed the genuine principles of liberal policy professed by our revered monarch.

He should recollect that one Duke of York lost England by attempting to coerce the religious feelings of the people, by his bigotry and illiberality. The feelings of the Irish were no less sensitive, and the example might extend beyond the channel. People would not be deluded by his royal highness attending a charity dinner. Such an occurrence could not be supposed to operate as an effectual antidote—the poison of the Orange boast of his avowed hostility to Catholic Ireland. There was nothing to be obtained by affecting an unworthy, cringing posture, when the principles of public liberty were trampled under foot by Continental despots, upheld by British ministers. If the Catholics should not obtain emancipation, surely it would be a gratification that their oppressors should not enjoy their dominion unalloyed by apprehensions.

MR. STEPHEN COPPINGER thought that adopting the resolutions relative to the subscriptions was useless, if they were not followed by the report, professing and demonstrating the purposes for which it was intended. Were the report printed, he had little doubt the subscription would immediately follow.

MR. A. BROWNE thought the meeting was taken by surprise. There was no notice of the motion given.

MR. N. MAHON was yet to learn that emancipation would be obtained by idle words and empty threats. It was idle to talk of discussing the report when it had effected the mischief.

Upon a division, there appeared in favour of the printing, twenty-one. Against it four.

MR. O'GORMAN said these were sufficient for a majority, but the half of those who voted had not paid their subscription for the present year.

After thanks to the chairman, the meeting adjourned.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24TH.

Mr. O'Connell brought forward the resolutions to be moved at the aggregate meeting:—

“1st. Resolved—‘Thanks to Nicholas Purcell O’Gorman, secretary.

“2nd. Resolved—‘That it is with great grief, bitter disappointment, and much indignation, we contemplate the continuance of the most unjust and oppressive code of laws, by the emaciating cruelty of which we still remain an inferior and excluded class in our native land.

“3rd. Resolved—‘That the penal code was enacted without

any necessary or justifiable motive whatsoever, and simply because the framers of it had the power and mercenary malignity to pass the same into law ; and that it was so enacted in direct and open violation of a solemn and recorded treaty, and manifest derogation of the rights of liberty of conscience.

“4th. Resolved—‘That the Irish parliament has frequently and publicly recognized the constant allegiance and fidelity of the Catholic people of Ireland, notwithstanding the continued infliction of the penal code ; and such allegiance and fidelity have been solemnly put on record with the recital of various statutes enacted by our parliament.

“5th. Resolved—‘That during the reign of our late most gracious sovereign King George III., many laws were passed beneficial to the Catholics ; but no redress whatsoever has been hitherto extended to us during the reign of our present respected monarch, notwithstanding the public exhibition of his most gracious sentiments in our favour—sentiments which we ought to, and do cherish with the greater veneration and gratitude, inasmuch as they are at variance with the avowed hostile opinions of the heir presumptive to the British throne.

“6th. Resolved—‘That our Irish Protestant brethren, having become sensible of the injustice of the penal code, and of the grievous wrong done to us, and great injury inflicted on themselves, thereby passed several statutes for our relief—statutes which were the more precious to us, as they recognized that sacred principle for which we contend, namely, that of liberty of conscience.

“7th. Resolved—‘That no statute was passed purporting to be for our relief, since the enactment of the baneful measure of the Union ; neither was any concession made to us since that unhappy event, save and except one law, which, without appearing to effect any thing, has, by its indirect and consequential operation, opened the highest grades in the army and navy to the Catholics. An act, however, not passed until long after the conclusion of the war, during which war Irish and British Catholics were excluded from military rank, whilst German Catholics, aliens to the land, and strangers to our laws, were allowed to exercise, and did actually exercise, military commands in the very heart of England.

“8th. Resolved—‘That we are thoroughly convinced, that had not the fatal measure of the Union taken place, the Protestants of Ireland, by their and our representations in parliament, would have long since conceded to us that equalization of civil

rights, which is usually styled emancipation, and we have thus to suffer the poignant affliction of attributing the continuance of our unjust sufferings to the heartless indifference and interested intolerance of some individuals belonging to an unfriendly legislature.

“9th. Resolved—‘That although our prospect of success is at present uncheering and gloomy, we still owe it to ourselves, our children, and our country, to bring before the British parliament and the world the injustice which is done us ; and whilst we disclaim being parties to any annual farce or *ministerial mockery*, we will still persevere in pressing our claims, because the public discussion of those claims, however fruitless in other respects, demonstrates the futility of the pretences upon which we are resisted, the total want of rational argument to oppose our rights, as well as the strength and justice of our cause, and the unquestionable merits of the Catholics of the British empire.

“10th. Resolved—‘That we will persevere in appealing to the British legislature, to the civilized world, and to our God, against the iniquitous oppression under which we labour. That we will again bring before the public the melancholy contrast between our merits and our sufferings, our rights and our grievances, and defy the strictest scrutiny to produce any justifiable cause whatsoever for the continuance of our national degradation.

“11th. Resolved—‘That we earnestly recommend all the Catholics of Ireland to contribute towards forming a fund for Catholic purposes, convinced, as we are, that there is no rational prospect for Emancipation, unless the Catholic Association shall be enabled to adopt more vigorous and effectual measures than have been heretofore pursued by the Catholic people.

“12th. Resolved—‘That we highly approve of the mode of raising subscriptions by monthly sums of one penny from each individual, and we strongly recommend that no greater annual contribution be received from any person than ten shillings each, per month.

“And we earnestly recommend to the inhabitants of every parish in Ireland, to meet as soon as possible, in a public manner, and to appoint individuals to collect such monthly subscriptions, and to transmit the same to the Catholic Association.”

With a thirteenth resolution, calling for public meetings generally.

The aggregate meeting so long announced and prepared for took place upon Friday, February the 27th, in Old Townsend-street Chapel.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE was called to the chair.

CHRISTOPHER FITZSIMON, Esq., moved the resolution of thanks to Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, Esq.

MR. O'GORMAN returned thanks.

STEPHEN COPPINGER, Esq., moved the second resolution, the HON. MR. FRENCH, the third, and MR. CONWAY then read the petition proposed to be adopted, which was ordered to be referred to the Catholic Association for further consideration, and for the purpose of being forwarded to parliament.

Some discussion here arose on an amendment proposed by the Honourable Mr. French, to omit from the petition all topics and remarks not strictly connected with the single question of Catholic Emancipation.

The amendment, however, not being seconded, fell to the ground, and Mr. Conway's resolution, adopting the petition with such amendments as the Catholic Association should consider proper to be made, was put from the chair, and passed without further opposition.

MR. O'CONNELL here rose, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering. For many minutes he was unable to proceed, in consequence of the deafening shouts that proceeded from every corner of the chapel. Silence being at length obtained, he said that he exulted with a peculiar triumph that the attempt to overturn the honest labours of the committee appointed to prepare the petition just read, had met with such a decided repulse; and it was with no ordinary regret he had witnessed that one of a family who had done much for the Catholic cause, and a gentleman whose character he highly esteemed, and whose respectability and general good sense he could bear attestation to, had determined on pressing a motion so contrary to the general sense of the large and respectable meeting by which he was surrounded, and so contrary, he would say, to the interests and feelings of the country at large. (Applause.)

Here it was highly important they should take their stand; and he would again repeat his old and favourite motto—

“ Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.”

Yes, at once he freely declared, to whatever side he turned him there was no hope of legal and constitutional redress, notwithstanding their painful and laborious exertion. (Hear.) It was, therefore, important that the Catholics should calculate what use they should make of the resources on which they can draw. This was necessary, as it was only by inquiring into their affairs they could fortify themselves with prudent determination.

Emancipation, then, he thought, might be attained by two means; First, by external means, in which he included the apprehension of war, and the effect of foreign policy upon domestic

legislation ; secondly, by internal wisdom, or a just application and disposition of the resources of those undiscovered mines which were latent in the body of our country.

As to external means, they should be repudiated and rejected, as the last extreme of painful and inevitable necessity, although they were frequently taken advantage of to forge the fetters of the Catholic people of Ireland. The Duke of Marlborough's external victories had been taken advantage of in the enactment of the penal code. In the strength and plenitude of power, England, during the reign of Queen Anne, had enacted a great portion of that frightful and horrible code, violating that religious toleration on which the Revolution had been founded—which Revolution it was that changed the dynasty of the Stuarts, and placed the predecessors of the present family on the throne of these realms. (Applause.) And if England, in the security of triumph, and in the insolence of haughty dominion, had put her foot upon their necks, there was a time, too (and it might occur again), when she held out the hand of fellowship and friendship—when she “kept the word of promise to the ear,” and wooed them into a convenient and profitable alliance. (Loud applause.)

In the experimental despotism which England fastened on Ireland, her mighty appetite for slavery was not gorged ; and because our unfortunate country was proximate, and polite in the endurance of the burden so mercilessly imposed, it was inferred that slavery could be safely extended far and wide, and an attempt was therefore made on the American colonies. Despotism, in fact, was an all-craving and voracious animal : “increase of appetite did grow on what it fed ;” until endurance became at length too vile ; and the Americans—the great God of Heaven bless them for it ! (laughter and applause)—shook off the thralldom which a parliament, representing an inglorious and ignominious funding system, had sought to impose. (Cheers.) Oh, it was a noble sight, to see them in open battle, contending for their liberties ! The recollection of the circumstance cheered and invigorated him in his progress : it gave him an elasticity, which all the fatigues of the day could not depress. (Cheers.)

“The friends they tried were by their side—
The foes they dared before them.”

Wives animated their husbands to the combat ; they bid them contend for their children, for the dear pledges of their mutual love—(hear, hear)—mothers enjoined their sons to remember those who bore them—the younger sex bid their lovers earn

their favours in a "well foughten field," and to return arrayed in glory. They did so—God of Heaven for ever bless them; he said again. (Loud cheering, mingled with laughter.) Thanks to the valour and patriotism of Washington, a name dear to every lover of liberty, the Americans achieved their independence, and Providence spared the instrument to witness it. (Loud applause.)

The independence of America was the first blush of dawn to the Catholic, after a long and dreary night of degradation. Seventy years had they been in a land of bondage; but like the chosen people, Providence had watched over, and the progress of events had liberated them, and redeemed them for the service of their country. The same Providence existed now, and why should they despair? (Cheers.)

In 1778, Holland assumed a threatening aspect, and some wise friend—(a laugh)—whispered into the ear of England, "search the rich resources of the Irish heart; give to their arms a stimulus to exertion; delude them with promises if you will, but convert their power into your strength and render them subservient to your purposes." England took the advice: the meteor flag was unfurled; the Danish, Spanish, and Dutch fleets peopled a wide waste of waters; but what of Ireland? Oh, although long neglected, she was faithful in the day of need: fifty thousand seamen were produced in a month—the Volunteers organized—a federate independence was created—and the Catholic cause was debated. But, lo! peace came, and gratitude vanished; and justice was not abroad; and obligations remained unrequited; and the Catholics were forgotten.

Forgotten? No! Acts were passed against them. (Loud and long-continued applause.)

Yes, strange as it might seem, 'the act taking from them the power to vote at vestries was passed at this very time; so that if the rectors agreed to build a church, the poor Catholics could not ask, "Who is to go into it?" (Much laughter.) Or, if taking cold, he required repairs, they could not order him fifty shillings to buy glass windows! (Laughter.) Next came the French Revolution. That revolution produced some good, but it was not without alloy: it was mingled with much impiety. Liberty and religion were first separated. The experiment was a bad one. It had much of French levity in it, and a deal of what was much worse. The people of France should have remembered that Liberty is the first instinct of a generous religion. (Immense applause.)

This position he would not concede to any saint or Bible-distributor. (Great applause.) The French, in folly, set religion at nought; they profaned the sanctuary, and they suffered for it. And if they are now settling into quiet, it is because they are settling into religion. (Applause.)

But he was trespassing on the time of the meeting—(no, no)—and in some measure wandering. (Cries of “go on.”) Well, he liked the subject, and would go on a little longer. He was saying the French Revolution produced much good. So it did. Dumourier gained the battle of Jemappe—the French crossed the Pyrenees—General Biron was in Italy—England looked benignantly on Ireland—it served her interest, it was her policy to do so, and she passed another act in favour of the Irish Catholics. (Applause.) The Irish were made more thirsty for liberty by the drop that fell on their parched lips. (Applause.)

There was not one who heard him who did not mourn in affection, in dress, or in heart, for some relative or friend who fell in the field of battle. (Hear.) His own heart-strings were torn asunder by the loss of a beloved brother, the companion of his youth, and the offspring of the same loins. A kinsman of his, too, died at the storming of St. Sebastian. Three times did he mount the breach, and he fell at last, covered with wounds and with glory. (Applause.) He was as gay and as lovely a youth as ever shed his blood in defence of his country, and a fair withal as ever trod on the green sward of Erin. (Much applause.) He could not choose but name him. It was Lieutenant John O’Connell of the forty-third regiment. And what did the relatives of these brave men gain by this?—what the Catholics of Ireland? Why, the Marquis of Douro was made Duke of Wellington!

The victories of Wellington might be compared to those of Marlborough. Both had perpetuated despotism at home and abroad. Civil liberty was now extinct on the Continent. From the fair and classic shores of Naples to the Tanis and the Volga was one wide stretch of illimitable despotism. In Naples, where the King “swore, and swore, and swore again,” he returned against his oath, and put to death those who spared him. Piedmont was under the hoofs of the despots. In Portugal liberty was extinct. In Germany, no breath of public spirit was heard—their chards had become corporations to “crib and cabin” the intellect of man. Brutal force controlled, for the present, the eternal empire of mind.

In France, the cause of liberty found some advocates, but

they were few : the enemies of the rights of man were the more numerous ; but, nevertheless, France enjoyed much practical liberty, and her peasantry were happy and well-fed.

In England, Toryism was triumphant. The forges were all employed ; the funds were high and healthy ; the cry of war had been abandoned ; the navy was flourishing, and actively engaged ; the army was numerous, well fed, and well paid ; the Duke of York, their declared and open enemy, and who headed the Orange faction, was the commander-in-chief ; Mr. Canning was in office, secured by a motley cabinet, who opposed each other openly, but who covertly befriended themselves to the detriment of the country ; Mr. Peel, their avowed enemy, was firm in his place ; Lord Liverpool still opposed them. Was it, therefore, at all wonderful that the Catholics were despised, and their cause abandoned ?

In Ireland, they had been blamed for being agitators. He (Mr. O'Connell) thanked his God for being one. Whatever little they had gained, they had gained by agitation, while they uniformly lost by moderation. The last word was repeated so often, that he was completely sick of it. He wondered some gentleman did not teach a parrot to repeat it. (A laugh.) If we gained nothing by moderation, it cost us something. Our religion was reviled, and we thanked the revilers ; they spit in our faces and we paid 'em for it. (Laughter and applause.) This reminded him of Shylock, in "The Merchant of Venice"—

Fair Sir, you spat on me on Wednesday last ;
On such a day you called me dog ;
And for these *courtesies* I'll lend you so much monies

The King came, and from the Catholics he reaped a rich harvest of gratitude. Anger and bigotry clothed their frightful forms in the garb of peace and conciliation, and became for a time allies to the throne. The feelings of the Catholics were, and he was not ashamed to say it, a little exaggerated by the natural ardour of the national temperament ; by their innate sense of gratitude, and by the sentiments of duty and respect, which warmed into enthusiastic love. The king had dismissed the whiskered and feathered tribe, the reds and the blues, who delighted in clothing themselves in all sorts of muffs and tippets. (Much laughter.) He won the Irish, and he was received with one acclaiming shout from Dingle-o'-Cooch to the Giant's Causeway.

That most paltry of all paltry things, the Corporation of the

City of Dublin, swallowed this as they would have a bitter pill. (Loud laughter.) It was a very long time since he had taken physic, but he had some slight recollection of the taste of a pill from his boyish days. (Laughter.) The cat, however, drew up its nails within its paw, and we met the velvet. (Laughter.) We pledged as men and gentlemen, and we kept our words. The Orangemen accuse us of not keeping faith with heretics, but they have kept no faith with us, from the treaty of Limerick to the dinner at the Mansion-house. (Loud applause.) They never made a treaty with us that they did not violate, when it was their interest or pleasure to do so. (Hear.) The vile press of London might taunt him for his observations to-day; but he would tell that press, that at the last time of which he was speaking, he bent his knee to his Sovereign, in all the ardour of duty, allegiance, and love—that knee which he bent only to his God beside. (Cheers.)

However, as he was saying, the Orangemen got alarmed—consultations were held—deputies came up to town, to preserve the Orange system. A representation was thereby established, and each county and city appointed some kind friend to act in behalf of the fraternity. (Loud and general applause.)

[Mr. O'Connell here called for a large package of books, letters, and papers which, he said, an honest fellow in the North (and God bless him for it!—(laughter)—transmitted to him. (Here there were many cries of "Read, read.")

He would with the leave of the meeting, proceed to read, but he would first exhibit to them the signs and seals of the dignitaries of Donegal. This document should be framed and glazed forthwith, and suspended from the walls of the Catholic Association. (Hear and laughter.) The county of Donegal was not regularly organized till 1813.

[Here Mr. B. COYLE stated that it was organised in 1796.]

Mr. O'Connell resumed. It was a very Catholic county, and although there might have been scattered Orangemen resident in it, still he had reason to think there was no organized Lodge till the period he had mentioned.

The learned gentleman now proceeded to read the regulations for admission, as assigned by the notorious Jack Giffard. Those who wished to be of the brotherhood should enter naked and hoodwinked. (Immense laughter.) This part of the business was denominated the Royal Arch Mark. They were next made acquainted with the dialogue, which was represented by Giffard to be long, simple, and beautiful. (Laughter.)

Mr. O'Connell next read a letter, signed "John Payne," of the Cambridge militia, who was admitted to Lodge 1,287. This person stated that the forms were indecent and absurd, and that he had suffered considerable injury and abuse, and many things degrading to a good and loyal man, in becoming an Orangeman. It was worthy of remark that these Orange Lodges met on the first Tuesday in every assizes. If there was a bit of an acre of ground between a Protestant and a bloody Papist, or if there was an Orange murder, to be sure these honest Orangemen would not say a word about the matter to those of the fraternity summoned on juries. No, no; it would be indelicate to suppose such a thing. (Applause.) It was further to be observed, that Captain Nesbitt, after being one year in office, had resigned the grand-mastership of this Lodge to Sir James Galbraith, the crown-solicitor for the county. Therefore, the stream of justice was sure to flow unpolluted. (Cheering.) Oh (he said again), God bless the honest fellow who sent him these books! He was sure he was much obliged to him. (Hear.) It was in the recollection of many who heard him, that these self same gentry had petitioned the House of Commons against the respectable Jesuit establishment in Ireland.

The Jesuits were a body, the most enlightened in every age since their original formation. The tuition of the youth of Europe had been committed to them, and they had acquitted themselves nobly. There was no subject of science or elegant literature which they had not touched, and they certainly improved and adorned every subject on which they had written. At a time when bigotry was the epidemic of the age in England, efforts were certainly made by subornation of perjury to malign and traduce the character of this society; but the clear and steady light of history—"temporum testis, lux veritatis"—had pronounced a judgment not less severe than merited on these attempts.

These were the men who were accused by the Orangemen of the North with darkening the intellect of the rising generation; but the eagle-eyed penetration of Henry Brougham had discovered that the petition of the enlighteners, "*par excellence*," abounded in glaring mis-spellings and breaches of concord. (Laughter.)

In one of the letters in his possession, the treasurer, in applying for subscriptions, wrote as follows:—"As several members is *in arrear*." The high numbering of the lodges reminded him of a templar in London, a friend of his, who, having purchased

two pair of silk stockings, had them numbered 47 and 48. (Laughter.)

After all the boasting, however, about organization and funds, it was discovered that lodge 10,547 only paid 5s. ; that lodge 1,499 paid only 5s. also ; while 344 advanced only 2s. 6d., and 1,190 nothing at all. (Laughter.) In all they could muster but the sum of 12s. 6d. for one year, of these lodges, which he contended were falsely represented with regard to the number and respectability of their members. He next produced an entry on the book, "deploring that the political hemisphere had been gloomily clouded by the removal, to a better world, of that great and good man and brother, John Giffard, Esq." (Great laughter and applause).

If J. Giffard died, the spirit of the dog survived ; but what was next ? Why, a document proving the illiberality of their enemies. It was in the shape of a resolution :—

RESOLVED—That any Orangeman, who ever has, or may hereafter, sign any petition *in favour of the Roman Catholics, and for their emancipation, be expelled from all Orange Lodges, and his name posted."*

The individuals who passed that resolution had lately appointed a Committee of twenty-one Orange gentlemen, to manage their affairs in the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. They were—

"Thomas Ellis, Esq., M.P. ; Frederick Darley, Esq. and Alderman ; Sir H. Lees, clergyman and Baronet ; Thomas Verner, Esq., Francis Dejoncourt, Esq., Captain Wiley, Charles Todd, Esq., George Hill, Esq., J. Walsh, Esq., N. Barrington, Esq., J. Forbes, Esq., L. H. Mangan, Esq., J. Pim, Esq."

All Esquires, said Mr. O'Connell.

"Joseph Mullen, Esq. (no Denis in it) (a laugh) ; Wm. Hall, Esq., G. Bentley, Esq., A. O'Neill, Esq., T. G. Byrne, Esq., George Fearon, Esq., George Atkinson, Esq."

(Great laughter, when this list was ended.)

Here came a letter, written at Donegal, when the king was in Dublin, addressed to the then Grand Secretary ; the object of it was to know if the Orange system was not about being discontinued, owing to the conciliatory proceedings of that period. The answer to that was from Theophilus Norton, Esq., Grand Secretary ; he expressed his amazement as to what could have given rise to such a rumour, but said that owing to the bustle in Dublin, the Grand Lodge could not meet, and added that Colonel Blacker had been elected Deputy Grand Master, in the room of Sir A. B. King, Bart., and that the system was as flourishing as ever.

The next document read, was dated 9th July, 1822, and addressed to the Donegal Lodge, by John Burke Fitzsimons, Esq., their representative; it was a postscript of a letter, and ran thus:—

“P.S.—Our statue in College-green, I am delighted to say, is painting for the 12th.”

(Great merriment.)

In the following November, the next paper was written, and was a suggestion from the Grand Lodge of Donegal, that any further concessions to Papists would only produce further demands “on our liberty,” and they might call for the removal of the statue, and an abandonment of our *principals*, &c. (laughter)—that being so obnoxious to Catholics—they might ask to abolish “days and times”—“days and times,” repeated Mr. O’Connell, why that would be working a greater miracle than any yet wrought. (Great laughter.) This was signed “J. B. Fitzsimons,” and dated Sandymount.

The next was a letter from Mr. Fitzsimons, also dated Sandymount, 17th September, 1822:—

“DEAR SIR—The Grand Lodge are averse to abandoning the old custom of dressing the statue—Lord O’Neill in the chair—present, three Vernons, Messrs. Sneyd, Ellis, and Darley. God send we have done right in differing with government: I hope it will not lead to bad consequences; but no discussion had ever been more fairly or knowingly conducted. “J. B. F.”

Another document, dated Wiley’s Rooms, North Earl-street—Colonel Blacker in the Chair—it was agreed to form a new association, called the “Loyal Orange Association.”

Another document called for a return of masters and representatives from the country. [Here, Mr. O’Connell said, was a proof of illegality.] That document, claiming such return, was dated “Post-office, Dublin,” and signed “William M’Culloch, Deputy Grand Secretary.”

This, he said, convicted the Orangemen out of their own lips, who now called themselves legally constituted. Mr. J. B. F. wrote another letter, declaring he had received no money, and recommending another application to Mr. Ellis, (secrecy), and the adoption of the king’s parting admonition as their best guide. (A laugh.) It complained “that no party was ever more *maligned* or *misrepresented* than the Orangemen of Ireland; and he hoped that their unjust persecution was at an end.” He expressed his hope in Anglo-Saxon language, “that they would prove the advice of their friends,” and ended with, “send

to me when at a loss *for to act*, as your representative." It concluded as if (added Mr. O'C.) with love to yourself (laughter)—not literally, but in meaning, for it ended with, "I beg my best regards to yourself.—Yours, J. B. Fitzsimons." (Great shouts of laughter.)

The next credential was a blank certificate, from the No. 334, at 2s. 8d. per year. The blank might be filled up with the name of Daniel O'Connell. (Great merriment.) The paper was signed O'Neill. Another began—

"Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory: we appoint our well-beloved brother of the Purple Order, W. Mackintosh, Esq., and his successors for ever, is permitted to hold a lodge, &c.

"Given under our great seal.

"O'NEILL."

It would require a peer to spell the writing. He deprecated the fact of one of the name of O'Neill, for whose protection the red arm of Ulster had often been raised, being placed as the head of Orangemen. He added, that Orangemen were wholesale calumniators, and affected a strength they possessed not; government, if it knew that, would despise them; and so would the people of Ireland, if they were not unarmed. (Great applause.) Mr. O'Connell rebutted the assertion, that Roman Catholic priests had interfered in the late county of Dublin election, and read a letter signed "James Langrishe." Dean Langrishe.

The following is the substance of Dean Langrishe's letter to Mr. Bartholomew Senior:—

"SENIOR—As you are a stanch Protestant, and an honest man, I suppose you can have no difficulty in voting for Sir Compton Domville. Do not, by any means, fail in attending at the hustings, and be as early as possible. I believe your son has got a vote also; pray fetch him with you.

"J. H. LANGRISHE"

This, he said, had threatened a person named Bartholomew, a stanch Protestant, with exclusion from his office of parish clerk, if he did not vote for Sir Compton Domville, for whom forty-nine clergymen of the Established Church had voted. If there were honesty in England, he declared emancipation would have been granted long ago; and there would be honesty in England again, as soon as they were in danger. Should they wait until the Orange press had created a ferment? No; they should exhibit a legal and unanimous combination. While Orangemen were working in the dark, for their ultimate object—blood and murder—Catholics could not endure being trampled on, much less could they suffer the graves of their parents to be trodden

on irreverently. Was it to be suffered that they should continue to inflame the land—to commit murder?—should not the Catholics be prepared for their defence? (Cheers.) Petitions to the legislature should be prepared every week. (Cheers.) The best exertions of the Catholics had been frustrated, owing to the want of pecuniary means; a general subscription should be made—he only asked one farthing per week, one penny per month. (Cries of “you shall have it.”)

He alluded here to the examinations in the House of Commons, relative to the inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Sheriff Thorpe, and said that the Orange secret could not be wrung from Sir A. B. King, for fear that the illegality of the Orange system should be made manifest. He next appealed to the patriotism of the fair sex, and alluded to the siege of Limerick, where the women threw themselves into the breach, and checked the assailants. King William saw that, and slunk away; he took the city the next year; but he obtained possession on the faith of treaties, which he afterwards violated. How otherwise than by a violation of a pledge could he have conquered Limerick, protected, as it then was, by the heroine bravery of its defenders. (Cheers.) If his (Mr. O'Connell's) plan succeeded, it would redeem the Catholic cause, put down Orangemen, and show that genuine loyalty consisted in making the throne secure, and that the Constitution would be best preserved by affording liberty of conscience and equal rights to every individual in the empire.

When Mr. O'Connell concluded, the cheers and huzzas that followed continued for a few minutes.)

The fourth resolution was moved by R. O'FARRELL, Esq.

The fifth resolution was moved by MR. BARRON

MR. CONWAY moved the sixth resolution.

MR. SHEIL moved the seventh resolution.

MR. PALLAS moved the next resolution, which was seconded by MR. LYNCH, of Clogher House. •

MR. SHEIL addressed the meeting at considerable length, and the resolutions being then put and adopted, the proceedings terminated.

“CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION—SATURDAY, FEB. 28.

“DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

“COLLECTION OF THE RENT.

“Upon the motion of MR. CONWAY, it was resolved that the proceedings of the aggregate meeting, on Friday, should be inserted once in the *Morning*

Chronicle and Courier, London newspapers and twice in such Dublin papers as the secretary should think fit.

“MR. O’CONNELL stated that he had received £2 from a Catholic clergyman in England, on account of ‘the Catholic rent,’ and he (Mr. O’Connell) then gave notice that on next Saturday he should move that measures be taken for consulting each parish in Dublin upon the best mode of collecting ‘the Catholic rent.’

“He had received an offer from Mr. O’Mara, of Lower Ormond, to collect the rent of two parishes in that neighbourhood, and the parish priest had also promised to lend his assistance.

“MR. O’GORMAN was pleased at finding the clergy disposed to assist in the collection. Heretofore they had been adverse to interfering in political proceedings.

“MR. O’CONNELL said, it was well known amongst the Catholics that several orphan charities were supported in Dublin by the collection of weekly subscriptions. *Forty-eight* of those collectors had offered their services in Dublin, under the superintendence of the clergy, but it was not intended to give the clergy any more trouble than that they should become the patrons, or act as checks upon the collectors, and see that the amounts were paid with punctuality.

“The first step should be that of consulting the several parishes of Dublin, and having the mode of collection determined upon before they commenced in the country. From the many communications made to him, he was enabled to say that an intense anxiety existed at present in Dublin for the subscriptions being commenced. The people were convinced of the necessity for a general contribution, in order to provide legal protection against the atrocities of the Orangemen.”

Upon the 3rd of March

MR. O’CONNELL read to the meeting a letter that he had received from Waterford, dated 1st March, and signed “John Fitzpatrick,” informing him that eighty moral well-conducted tradesmen of that city had formed themselves into an Association, to be called “The All-Saints’ Society,” for co-operating with the Catholic Association in forwarding such legal and constitutional measures as were likely to obtain emancipation, and for the purpose of managing and arranging the subject of the Catholic rent.

The letter also enclosed a series of resolutions upon the subject of Catholic grievances, and a vote of thanks to the Association. Mr. O’Connell also stated that twenty-four members of the Charitable Confraternity, for the support of orphan-houses in Dublin, had proposed to assist in the collection of the Dublin subscriptions. In fact, nothing could be more promising nor more cheering than the spirit which was beginning to be evinced in various quarters on this subject; and all that would be wanting would be steady perseverance in the good work.

It was not intended that the clergy should have any trouble with the collection, further than that they should be satisfied

with the persons appointed as collectors, all of whom should have their approbation. Dishonest persons might otherwise avail themselves of the occasion to assume the privilege of collecting for their own pockets, as had been the case in the North of Ireland, where a person professed himself as appointed by him (Mr. O'Connell) to collect subscriptions.

The success of the subscriptions depended upon the legal and constitutional means used for their collection and application. The government and the magistracy should know every step of their proceedings, and the subscription lists should be posted upon the chapel door.

The Catholic Association would be informed of every local grievance that occurred in every part of Ireland, through the same channel. There was not one oppressive or illegal act that they would not learn in all its details, without any cost to the aggrieved person, and his case should either be brought before the legislature or the courts of law.

The plan of subscription would also enable them to have a pretty accurate amount of the Catholic population, and enable them the better to expose the injustice of Catholic degradation. For instance, in a town in Roscommon, the births of last year were, one hundred and seventy-nine Catholic children, and two Protestant. Now it was rather severe that those hundred and seventy-nine children should be made hewers of wood and drawers of water to the two more favoured infants. As soon as the English people see that so many millions of Irishmen are determined not to cease their exertions until admitted within the pale of the constitution. they will oblige the ministry to sacrifice to justice and the safety of the empire, what they can easiest spare—a passion for bigotry.

Mr. O'Connell then gave notice of a motion for “authorizing the secretary for subscriptions, to take the earliest opportunity of ascertaining the names, numbers, warrants, &c., of the parties making collections in various parts of the country.

He also gave notice of a motion respecting the Kildare-street Society.

Upon the 8th of March, he redeemed the latter notice.

KILDARE STREET ASSOCIATION.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to move upon his notice respecting the Kildare-street Association.

It appeared there was now a petition before parliament for an increased grant to this association, and it was cruel that the funds of this association should be diverted from their original purpose, and applied towards shameless jobs. He (Mr. O'Connell) was himself a subscriber for many years without attending the meetings, because they put forward a notice, that the object of the institution was to facilitate education amongst the poor, without interfering with the religious tenets of any. His attention was at last called to their proceedings by the best of Irishmen, and one far beyond his eulogium. Lord Cloncurry informed him that in his neighbourhood the institution was perfectly useless, the Association having refused relief to any school in which the Bible was not received as a school-book, without note or comment. In consequence of this, at the next meeting of the society, his Grace the Duke of Leinster, Lord Cloncurry, and the late Randal M'Donnell, and he (Mr. O'Connell) attended, and stated, that the Catholic clergy would not consent to have the Scriptures degraded into a school-book, particularly without note or comment. They observed that the Catholic clergy might be wrong in that resolution, but it rested on a principle from which they could not swerve. In this statement he was met by the Committee, positively denying that such was the practice of the Catholic clergy, and they contended they knew the doctrines of his religion better than he did himself.

In support of their assertion they read several letters, each from some Rev. Mr. blank, of blank parish, and blank place, those being the characteristics of authenticity which distinguish all the correspondence read at their annual meetings, when the name of Joseph Devonshire Jackson, to whom the letters are addressed, is the only one announced to the public.

By the testimony of those anonymous witnesses, there was an immense majority against him.

At the next annual meeting, having previously taken the liberty to address the two Catholic bishops of Dublin (Doctors Troy and Murray), and having received from them a letter, stating, "that they did not conceive the Scriptures proper *school* books; and that their practice was to have the Scriptures accompanied by note and comment, and that they could not deviate from that rule," it was proposed by Lord Cloncurry, seconded by Mr. Curran, that a committee should be appointed to inquire and report, whether their mode of proceeding was the best adapted to carry into effect the principle of their institution, and to give an equal facility for education to persons of all religions.

But the majority of the society, from a conviction of having carried on proceedings they dared not avow, resisted the appointment of a committee of inquiry, and thereby convicted themselves of that want of candour of which he had often accused them. Yet those were the men to teach morality to the Irish peasantry, who themselves violate its first principles—nay, they even resolved that the regulation respecting the use of the Scriptures in school, should not be repealed without a particular resolution of the association.

Those general meetings were the most oddly composed imaginable. There were High Churchmen, such as Rev. Mr. Daly, county Wicklow ; there were several "New-lights" of several denominations, some Quakers, and several of those half Quakers, who are neither Protestant nor Quaker, but have a smack of both ; not agreeing exactly in the Scriptures, that they may continue to wrangle upon them. He should never forget the fanatic yell with which his motion for investigation was received—particularly from a host of Quakers.

It was somewhat singular that he shortly afterwards experienced a defeat, with a similar-toned *hiss*, at the Dublin Library, when he attempted to have excluded from its shelves an impious work against Christianity, styled *Ecce Homo !* It had been irregularly, and of course improperly introduced ; he had endeavoured to get rid of it ; the shameless writers in the Orange press accused him of having contended for its reception ! It was most likely one of themselves who had put it on the shelves.

He had no doubt the Kildare-street proselytizing schools had considerably increased through the labours of a gentleman, whom he (Mr. O'Connell) much regretted had greatly exerted himself to forward the views of the promoters of the society in question. The schools had, unfortunately, increased to a considerable extent, owing to a misconception in several Catholic quarters. The society had, in these places, got the name of liberality ; because of casual relaxations of their rule, with regard to the reading of the sacred scriptures, without note or comment. He had heard that there were somewhere about forty instances in which this had occurred ; and he prayed the association and the country to remark what manner of men these were, who managed this Kildare-street Society, and assumed, or rather presumed to meddle with the education of the entire youth of Ireland. First, they make a rule which they profess to be essential, to be indispensable, and in fact, the foundation of their whole system ; and then, when an object is to be gained, they do not hesitate to

abandon what they affected to consider so necessary, and to violate what they appeared to hold as of such sacred importance.

Perhaps, however, they considered duplicity a necessary part of the system for educating the Irish, and so practised it before they preached.

He had been misunderstood upon a former occasion by some of the newspapers, when he charged the Kildare-street Society with incorrectness in their accounts. He did not charge them with not bringing forward, in their balance-sheet, the *money* in hand ; but he had charged them, and did so still, with having omitted the stock of books and paper, from one year to the other. He did so upon the best authority in the world.

The Kildare-place Society had thought proper to proceed against Mr. Boswell, a respectable paper-stainer, who had become security for a store-keeper, who, they alleged, was deficient in the quantity of books and papers. He (Mr. O'Connell) had been counsel for Mr. Boswell. The Kildare-place Society had totally failed in the prosecution, because they had not the slightest evidence in the world as to the quantity of paper, or books, which they had had under the care of the accused store-keeper. They contrived most industriously to keep the trial out of all the newspapers, although there were reporters present.

What admirable tutors in vulgar arithmetic ! What admirable instructors for the Irish peasantry ! Were they better qualified, in a moral point of view, divided as they were amongst themselves, by various religious opinions, and agreeing in nothing but the spirit of proselytism, not caring what the children were, so as they ceased to be Catholics. It was very probable that the saints in parliament would throw their shield of protection around their fellow-labourers in Kildare-street, but the petition would have the effect of administering that material portion of education—wholesome correction.

It would expose their practices to the parliament and the people ; and if the parliament were intent upon giving the public money really for the education of the Irish poor, instead of making it the means of proselytism, they would agree to the prayer of the petition. They would appoint a committee to inquire whether the mode of education pursued by the Kildare-street Association is that best adapted to the wants and circumstances of the Irish peasantry.

To be sure, they might be met by the hacknied calumny, that the Catholic clergy were desirous of keeping the people ignorant

of the Scriptures, but there never was a baser or more absurd assertion.

The Catholic clergy wisely see what the Kildare-street Association themselves exhibit—a couple dozen religions seated around their table. They wished to prevent children's uninformed minds from being confounded and embarrassed with what they cannot understand. They wish to avoid laying the foundation for future Johanna Southcotes, Jumpers, and Seekers, and other "New Lights." They had no desire to render the Scriptures obnoxious to the rising generation by their being made *task* books. They had no desire to withhold the Scriptures from adults, or those capable of understanding their mysterious truths. But they had no wish to create doubts and difficulties by the use of the Scriptures, without note or comment; and it should be recollected that to the veneration and care with which the Catholic clergy have preserved the Scriptures, the Protestants are indebted for having them in their original purity.

The Catholic clergy have not only preserved the written, but the *unwritten* law of God—practised and professed by the Protestants of this day.

The learned gentleman then moved the appointment of a committee to prepare a petition to parliament upon this subject. Carried.

Before proceeding to the Association to make the foregoing speech, Mr. O'Connell had had to deliver two or three others, at a "meeting of the citizens and householders of Dublin, pursuant to a requisition to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, for the purpose of taking into consideration the measures most expedient to be adopted, in order to prevent the infliction of the burthens now sought to be imposed upon the citizens of Dublin, in consequence of the corporation having, by public notice, announced their intention of applying to parliament, in this session, for power to impose tolls and customs upon goods coming into and going out of said city."

Such were the terms of the announcement. The abbreviated account we give of the meeting will show the reckless shamelessness of the old corporators, and also the varied nature of the struggles—varied in all save *difficulty*—which Mr. O'Connell was continually engaged in.

"The Lord Mayor took the chair, and the first proceeding was to read the intended petition of the corporation.

"MR. ARABIN moved:—

"RESOLVED—'That we understand that the Corporation of the city of Dublin have petitioned parliament for the establishment of tolls and customs in the said city.'

"ALDERMAN ARCHER thought the resolution should *not* embracc *any inuendo* The corporation did not wish to *tax* the citizens, *but to relieve them!* (A laugh.)

MR. O'CONNELL said, that if the resolution proposed did not state what was the fact, let the gentleman bring forward one

that he considered did. Let them state the truth at once. If they were not seeking to establish tolls, let them bring forward a resolution to this effect :—

“RESOLVED—That the Corporation are *not* seeking to establish tolls.”

.He would prove to their satisfaction, or rather dissatisfaction, that that was not what, as private gentlemen, they could assert.

They stated that, from time immemorial, they were accustomed to receive tolls. That was unfounded in fact. Let them try the question of right. If they did not like the King's Bench, let them bring it into the Common Pleas. The tolls must be local. If they removed them beyond the boundaries of the city, they might extend them to the county of Dublin. Those who resided one inch beyond the toll-gate were freed of toll ; but this effort of the Corporation, if successful, would have the effect of making them liable to toll who were not so before.

The crown could not grant to any corporation the power of levying any toll without a *quid pro quo*. The king could not grant a toll by charter without the *proviso* that the Corporation would give value to the citizens of Dublin. He would ask, did the Corporation repair the streets, or mend the quays, or build bridges, or pay the metal main tax ? (No, no, no.) He (Mr. O'Connell) paid the Paving Board nine or ten pounds a-year, for which he had not got any equivalent from the Corporation. The city treasurer was well able, but he was not willing, to pay that—no blame to him.

He (Mr. O'Connell) paid the Anna Liffey cess without a murmur ; he got fair value for it. If a bridge was to be built, a prison to be erected, or a contract to be entered into for milk, butter, and potatoes for any prison, the citizens were called on to pay according to the grand jury presentments ; and the Corporation was not permitted to interfere further than in the appointment of the man who was to receive the money. Whenever they did interfere they give little or no value for the taxes. They still received monies which in Catholic times had been applied to Catholic uses, but which uses had of course long ago ceased ; such as the providing that mass should be regularly said for the train bands.

The Corporation held out no prospect that they would give value for these new tolls ; and the greatest proof that could be given of their own conviction that they had no right to levy them, was their admitting that an act of parliament was necessary, in order to establish their present claim.

Let the Corporation deal candidly with them. What was now sought was nothing more nor less than an extension of the tolls in points to which they had not laid claim before. They (the citizens) denied the right of the Corporation altogether. Let them go into the courts of law, as they did before with Mr. Pilsworth. Let them go outside the Exchange, and assert their right; let them stop a car, and a replevin would be entered against them in half an hour, and the question would be tried the next term. They had an able and an intelligent law officer in the Recorder; let them, therefore, try the question of right in the courts of law, and not petition parliament on the subject.

“MR. ELLIS, M.P., Dublin, said that there ought to be an adjournment for the present. (Loud cries of ‘No, no.’)

“What was looked for now was a private bill, between the first and second reading of which, in parliament, not less than three weeks should necessarily intervene. Would it not be better, then, to wait until they should have the bill itself before them, which he would engage they should have with the utmost promptitude, and thus be enabled to see what its provisions really were, rather than to oppose it in entire ignorance of it. (No, no.)

“He went on to assert that Mr. O’Connell was mistaken in supposing the question of tolls had never been tried. It had, and there had never been a decision against the corporation.

Mr. O’Connell denied that he had asserted that no legal proceedings whatever had occurred with regard to the Corporation’s right to levy tolls. This, however, he would assert, that the Corporation had been *non-suited*.

With respect to the case of Reilly, he was fighting the Corporation, who were backed with £5000 a-year out of the tolls. The case was brought into the county of Wicklow, and because it did not proceed, they succeeded. Poor Reilly, who had not courage enough to put an “O” to his name, had not money to proceed, and this was the triumph of the Corporation!

He should be glad to know the name of the salesmaster that was alluded to. (Here the name of Colclough was mentioned.) He did not know whether this Mr. Colclough was a freeman or not, but he seemed in a great hurry to pay the costs; and those were the cases that were relied on for establishing the right of the Corporation to toll! He would remind them of the action, “*Pilsworth v. Archer*.” Alderman Archer was able to defend that case by his private fortune, but he had also the treasury of the Corporation at his back. Mr. Pilsworth, however, was not to be deterred: he was resolved to leave the world better than he found it. An order of judgment for the plaintiff was en-

tered. There Alderman Archer was obliged to pay the *costs* and *damages*.

The learned gentleman (Mr. Ellis) said, that if the tolls were illegal he would oppose them. He (Mr. O'Connell) should like to see him oppose the Corporation. (Great laughter.) He was of no party! Oh, not he! (Continued laughter.) He was *your representative*, forsooth! (Laughter.)

See how the Corporation conduct this affair. First, they say they have a *right* to tolls, and modestly ask leave to increase them. Then they say they have *not* a right to tolls, and require to be relieved from the £2000 a-year demanded by the Paving Board. He admitted that that claim of £2000 a-year by the Paving Board was a grievance, and as a freeholder, he was ready to join in a petition against it. What a country would not Ireland be, if they, corporators and citizens, Protestants and Catholics, would but join, would but unite, one and all, for the redress of their common grievances!

The people were as anxious as the corporators could be for British connexion—for one king—one constitution—that constitution which existed in such safety and vigour before, when Ireland had her own parliament. Had she that parliament now, there never would have been occasion for the species of charity-sermon which Mr. Ellis had preached upon the poverty of the country. (Cheers.)

“After some further opposition, the Lord Mayor advised that Mr. Arabin's resolution should be let pass without a division.

“NICHOLAS MAHON moved a resolution, deprecating in strong terms the conduct of the corporation in making their pretended claims to tolls and customs.

“ALDERMAN HARTY strongly opposed it, referring to the prosperity of Dublin when tolls were levied before the Union.

“MR. O'CONNELL said that, as counsel for the corporation—(a laugh)—he would say that it was a hardship that £2,000 should be demanded of them for what they did not receive, and were not entitled to.

“Alderman Harty said that the country was prosperous before the Union. Why, then they had upwards of two hundred resident noblemen in Dublin, besides six or seven and twenty bishops—(laughter)—who went regularly to the levees in coaches and six, and kept livery servants, who lived like gentlemen of fortune. Luxury then bore a high price.

[“The Lord Mayor here observed that the learned gentleman was wandering into extraneous matter.

Mr. O'Connell resumed—If Alderman Harty was allowed to argue in support of tolls on the ground of the state of Ireland before the Union, when there were two hundred and fifty resident nobility in the city, it was competent for him to show that the Union had taken away their resources.

It was said that the Irish parliament was corrupt ; but there were eighty, and from that to ninety-six, constantly voting in the oppositions, and that was a greater number, in proportion, than in the British House of Commons.

The Corporation never called on the poverty of the people to pay tolls, because they paid them when they were rich and flourishing. They all recollected the numberless riots they occasioned. The police were often sent out to the toll-gates, and returned bleeding and crying to Alderman Archer. If the tolls were again brought forward, and an attempt was made to levy them, was it not very probable that some one would whisper to the boys—"When an attempt was made before to levy tolls, you beat the Corporation. They then gave them up. Why should you not beat them again." (Cheers.)

"ALDERMAN ARCHER suggested an adjournment as the best means of *conciliation*.

'MR. KIRWAN ridiculed the proposition, and called the corporation 'the worst curse with which the city of Dublin was disgraced.'

"The Lord Mayor and Mr. J. B. FITZSIMONS defended the corporation.

"MR. MAHON's resolution was put, and carried, as were some other resolutions, and the meeting broke up."

It will be seen that whatever might be the business of the hour—however engrossing the immediate object on which he was engaged—Mr. O'Connell's mind constantly and eagerly reverted to the great business and object of his life—the Repeal of the Union.

And evidencing it thus in public, his family and friends knew how unremittingly his thoughts were occupied in private with the prospect of Ireland's regeneration, and how well he was entitled to address her in the lines so frequently used by him in his speeches—

"Still shalt thou be my midnight dream,
Thy glories still my waking theme!
And every thought and wish of mine,
Unconquered Erin, shall be thine!"

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, MAY 15, 1824.

At a meeting on the 15th of May, a letter was read from Mr. Plunkett, then Attorney-General (and it can scarcely be necessary to repeat late Lord Plunkett, and an ex chancellor of Ireland) in which he expressed his readiness to accept the Catholic petition, recently tendered to him and to present it without any delay. But, he added, that in his opinion, at that period of the session, there was no possibility of any measure passing, nor any hope of a discussion useful to the Catholics.

Mr. O'Connell's maxim, however, was, that the advocates of a cause, good in itself should be instant in season or out of season ; and he argued that whatever might be the

fate of the individual motion, yet the display of energy and untiring perseverance, could not fail to have an effect. And, accordingly, the very frequent similar representations of the parliamentary *patrons* of the Catholic cause, with which the working agitators at home were so frequently assailed, but rarely met with attention, or caused the onward progress of the movement to be for one moment checked.

The word in italics (*viz., patrons*) in the foregoing sentence, requires a few remarks here. It was observed that the great majority, if not all, of the parliamentary friends of the Catholics, assumed towards the latter a tone of condescension and generous protection and patronage, not a little galling to some of the proud spirits among them. To quarrel with this demeanor would have been to lose the assistance and advocacy of those gracious patrons. But Mr. O'Connell, and many with him, bore with no very great amount of patience and resignation, these assumptions of exalted superiority, and longed for "*emancipation*" from this petty degradation and annoyance, as heartily and earnestly as from the greater and more important restrictions and injustices under which the Catholic body were suffering.

The answer given to Mr. Plunkett's *patronizing* letter by the Catholic Association, on a motion of Mr. O'Connell, was:—

"That the committee be directed again to address the Right Honourable the Attorney-General, William Conyngham Plunkett, and thanking him very respectfully for his kindness in presenting our petition, to request of him in the most pressing terms to procure a discussion on the Catholic question as speedily as possible."

The rest of the sitting was occupied with speeches on the subject of certain then recent attacks upon the Catholic clergy of Ireland, by one body of persons who had designated themselves as the "London Hibernian School Society," and in their annual report, just published, had been guilty of the calumnies alluded to. Mr. O'Connell also took occasion to make an appeal to the Society of Friends, or to use their more familiar denomination, the Quakers. He remarked upon the inconsistency of their conduct at that time, when, as he said:—

'Asserting a most active love of freedom, they get up petitions to parliament for the relief of the West India slaves; but show themselves utterly regardless of the most miserable condition of the wretched bondsmen of their own country.'

The society in question have certainly, during the grievous years at present elapsed since the confirmed failure of the potato in Ireland, in the autumn of 1846, redeemed themselves nobly from all charge that they were regardless of the actual physical wretchedness of the Irish peasantry. Nothing, certainly, could have been more admirable in extent, efficiency and quality of the relief they have administered. They have not only given food to the starving, clothing to the naked, and medicine to the sick and failing; but they have attempted, and with success, considering the comparatively restricted scope of their means, the nobler charity of putting the destitute peasantry of the West in a position to maintain themselves by their own industry; no meed of praise can indeed be considered too high for their deserving on these accounts.

But, as has been remarked in an earlier volume, their liability, at least at the periods (for the periods were more than one) when Mr. O'Connell felt himself called upon to make such remarks as that just mentioned, there is no doubt that *the Irish portion* of the Society of Friends were obnoxious to his charge. For what unhappy reason it skills not here to inquire into and expose, the Quakers of Ireland sadly differed in their behaviour on political occasions from their brethren of the sister-country; and while those political reforms, the justice and necessity of which very few, indeed, of any party, are now to be found ready to contest, had no stauncher or truer advocates and supporters than the Quakers of England generally, their Irish brethren were only too often and too constantly found in close alliance

and companionship with the opponents of all amelioration of political institutions, and the defenders of the worst abuses.

It is true that many of them were used to shelter themselves under the plea that "they were *no politicians*," when pressed hard to imitate the stout example and efforts of English Quakers. But that plea never deceives in Ireland, where, as Mr. O'Connell used to phrase it, "the man that says he has no politics, generally contrives to act in accordance with the worst," and is never for a moment credited in the assertion by any party.

Mr. O'Connell, however, even when reluctantly censuring that body for what appeared to him, with his ardent love of Ireland, and ever active sympathies with the distresses and miseries of her people, a really criminal *faineance*, or still more criminal coalition with her oppressors and enemies, never refused to bear his tribute to the general worth of the Irish Quakers, or to the prompt and vigorous aid they gave in conjunction with the English Society, to the cause of Negro emancipation. The parties whom he thus partly censured and partly praised, did not, perhaps, appear to attach much weight to his words in either case; but he not the less readily and heartily paid the tribute of approbation and respect on every occasion, and they were not few, when he conceived it to be justly owing to them.

Upon the same day that the proceedings already noted took place, namely, the 15th of May, the letters of Lord Brougham and the late Lord Grey were read, acknowledging the receipt of the Catholic petition entrusted to them, but finding fault with some of the paragraphs that they contained. Lord Grey's words were:—

"I am bound in fairness to apprise you, that the other objects with which the prayer for Emancipation is connected, appear to have been unnecessarily introduced; and are calculated rather to injure than assist you; and I should feel it incumbent on me to declare they could not have my concurrence."

Lord Brougham, then of course Henry Brougham, in the lower house, thus wrote:—

"I cannot agree with some of the opinions expressed in it, and must therefore say, that I am not prepared to support parts of the prayer.....I am willing to present the petition generally,—signifying, that in some respects, I differ with the petitioners. I regret they have so far increased their demands."

The terrible demands which so frightened Lords Brougham and Grey from their propriety, will be gathered from Mr. O'Connell's speech on this occasion.

Nothing can better depict the miserable condition of the Catholics than the circumstance of this remonstrance from their gracious patrons in Parliament against matters of plain right and justice, plainly, and most rightly, and justly asked for in their petition.

Mr. O'Connell, who arrived during the reading of Mr. Brougham's last letter, proposed that Lord Grey and Mr. Brougham should be written to, stating that it was the wish of the Association that the petition should be presented in its present form, in order that the Catholics might obtain as much of the relief prayed for as possible.

The petition stated evils that are admitted to have existed, and although the mode of administering relief may be a fair subject of difference, yet none of the opposition members deny the facts stated in the petition; nor can the opponents of the Catholics disprove them, as unfortunately they are too manifest to every person acquainted with Ireland. The prayer of the petition embraced four heads of grievance, every one of which were

already publicly admitted in the country, and had engaged the attention of parliament.

The *first* prayer was for a *reformation* in the temporalities of the Church Establishment of Ireland. It was admitted by some of the warmest defenders of the Irish Church Establishment, that with the poorest population, and the smallest congregation, the Irish Protestant Church was the richest establishment in the world, and that it was infinitely greater than was necessary, it being three times as much as was allotted to the whole establishment of the Catholic and Protestant clergy in France, for the service of twenty-six millions of persons. He believed that if the whole number of Protestants, in communion with the Established Church, were accurately counted, it would be found that the cost of their religious instruction and superintendence, was to Ireland not less, at any rate, than about twenty shillings per head per annum.

The petition did not pray any interference with the spiritual functions of the clergy, or the doctrines of their church; but as the Catholics were the principal contributors to this immense revenue, they merely prayed for such reformation as was necessary for the relief of the impoverished people. It could not be said that this prayer sprung from mere sectarian enmity on the part of the Catholics to the Established Church. All the restrictive statutes that are now in force against ecclesiastical property in these countries, were passed by Catholic parliaments, when Catholic bishops were lords of parliament.

The second prayer of the petition was for the better regulation of juries. If the legislature have any intention of ever causing tranquillity in Ireland, they will grant this prayer, which goes to deprive Orangemen of the means of effecting, through the laws, their sworn hostility to the lives, liberties, and properties of the Catholics. The law should be like Cæsar's wife—above suspicion. It was notorious that Orangemen had generally shown themselves unfit for the office of magistrates where Catholics were concerned, and how much more so must they be for that of jurors.

The next prayer of the Catholics was for the disfranchisement of the existing rotten borough corporations. The time when the utility of corporations in Ireland could be contended for, was long since gone by. They were now nothing but monstrous nuisances, and only served to organize bigotry, and to procure members to *misrepresent* the people of Ireland in parliament.

What had the corporation of Dublin effected for the citizens

in the representation of their city? Why, but for "*their honours*," the people of Dublin would not have had to send to Youghal or Kinsale to seek a representative, or to select as their member, a gentleman who, though very amiable in private life, not having succeeded in his profession of barrister, purchased a place. The commercial city of Dublin, as if to give an exemplification of ridicule in the extreme, chuses a master in chancery to represent it in parliament. The other corporation member, Sir Robert Shaw, was a worthy man in his own family, but if it were not for the corporation, the citizens of Dublin would have left the worthy baronet in quiet with his family. Again, there was the rotten corporation of the city of Kilkenny. They could not get a gentleman of intelligence in their own county able to represent them in parliament, but were compelled to send all the way to the province of Connaught, where, at length, they found a right honourable—no less a personage than Mr. Denis Browne.

The corporation of the city of Limerick were ably represented, but then it was so actually in despite of and in opposition to the corporation, who had Mr. Spring Rice forced upon them by the voices of the independent citizens. There was also some decency in the representations of the city of Cork, but it was owing to the power and influence of the corporation having been neutralized by the introduction of so many independent freemen. Yet this honest corporation of Cork was at this moment seeking by proceedings in the King's Bench to prevent the people of that great city from purchasing meat or fish out of any other but the corporation markets!—a monopoly which must, of course, be highly injurious to the consumer. And the worthy corporation of Dublin had exercised their powers to defeat the intentions of the legislature, for although the Catholics were qualified to become freemen during the last thirty-one years, yet not one Catholic had been able to obtain that privilege. Heaven knows, slavish and cringing Catholics enough could have been had if they had been looked for; but even with such, the corporation bigots would have nought to do, for the high crime of being Catholics at all.

The fourth prayer of the Catholic petition was for the removal of the disqualifications to which Catholics are now subject, and in that prayer both Lord Grey and Mr. Brougham agreed. Therefore, in his (Mr. O'Connell's) opinion there was nothing objectionable in the petition, and it was drawn up with great talent and ability, and spoke in such language, that if it had

been used in their petition twenty years ago, would have obtained them emancipation. Mr. O'Connell then moved that the secretary be instructed to write to Lord Grey and Mr. Brougham requesting of them to present the petition in its present form ; and if they cannot approve of the whole of its prayer, that they will support as much of it as they can.

Allusion being subsequently made to a statement by Lord Ennismore in parliament, respecting a charge made against him by a clergyman, for seeking to force his tenants to send their children to a bible school—

MR. O'CONNELL said, that when so humble an individual as himself felt anxious that what he said should not be misrepresented, it was natural that a gentleman of Lord Ennismore's rank should be desirous of correcting any unfounded imputations on his character and conduct. The word "corresponding" had been added to the name of secretary, for those appointed to manage the collection of the Catholic rent, but as he (Mr O'Connell) was anxious to avoid involving the Association, in the remotest degree, by word or sound, he had been careful not to use any phrase that might be construed under the existing laws against illegal societies ; and as there was an express enactment against "Corresponding Societies," he took care not to use the word "corresponding" when naming the secretaries.

He had been also represented as having eulogized Mr. Ensor, by contrasting his services with those of other Irishmen. But he (Mr. O'C.) had too high an opinion of Mr. Ensor's taste and feeling, to think he would receive as a compliment any reflection upon such Irishmen as Lord Cloncurry, Colonel Butler, and others. Mr. Ensor would rather be considered one of their colleagues in the same glorious cause.

Mr. O'Connell then proceeded move, according to his notice, "that the Rev. Messrs. Kirby and Mulcahy should be written to for an explanation of that passage in their letter, alluding to Lord Ennismore's harsh treatment of his *twenty-eight* tenants, on account of their refusing to send their children to the Protestant school.

MEETING, SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1824.

STEPHEN COPPINGER, Esq., in the Chair

Mr. O'CONNELL rose and said, that as a letter from Letterkenny had been received respecting the education of the Catholics of that town, he could not omit the opportunity of stating an interesting fact that had occurred touching

the subject. A few assizes since there had occurred a revenue trial in the town of Letterkenny, and Mr. Deane Grady was counsel for the revenue. At the trial, a young man, aged about 18 years, was examined as a witness. He was extremely well dressed and in good circumstances, but it appeared he could neither read nor write; and he was asked by a junior counsel, with an air of triumph, what religion he was of? When to the evident surprise of the questioner, he answered "a Protestant." The next witness was a young girl, of eight or nine years old, and upon her being asked to put her mark to some paper, she immediately said she could write. She was then asked what religion she was of? and replied "a Catholic," and added, that "she went to the school in the chapel." Mr. Grady had observed upon the circumstance as a striking instance of the benefits of education, and declared that it was highly creditable to the Catholic clergyman of that town.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

MR. O'CONNELL complained of a gross mis-statement that had appeared some of the newspapers of this city, but which, he believed, had originated with *The Correspondent*. He was represented as desiring to excite the people to assassinate Dr. Magee in the course of some late observations of his on the Burial Bill. Mr. O'Connell expressed his abhorrence of such principles as were attributed to him in *The Correspondent*, and repeated what he *had really said* on the occasion alluded to.

THE LATE FERMANAGH MURDERS.

MR. O'CONNELL gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a committee to prepare a petition to Parliament upon the subject of the recent murders in the county Fermanagh by the Orangemen, praying that Parliament would either deprive the Orangemen of their fire-arms, or permit the Catholics to keep them, in order to obtain that protection which the Government does not afford them.

MR. O'CONNELL moved a resolution contradicting a passage in the annual report of the London Hibernian School, which had accused the Catholic priesthood of opposing education.

MR. O'Connell took a review of the proceedings of the Hibernian Society, and requested most particularly to be understood as separating the Chairman of their meeting, the Marquis of Lansdowne, (who could never be mentioned but with respect,) from any participation in the illiberal opinions and ungentlemanly conduct of those who composed that meeting, at which a hearing or any explanation was rudely refused to Mr. Eneas M'Donnell respecting their calumny on the Catholic priesthood.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, as was also a resolution of thanks to Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, for his spirited conduct at that meeting.

The foregoing will give an instance of the variety of matters with which the almost infant Catholic Association was beginning to have to deal. The allusion to the attempts of the Catholic clergy to spread education, involves a fact very little known to the general public, and indeed often sedulously concealed from them, under the strange impression that if the real extent of those efforts were known, it would take away from the merits of the existing system of National Education in Ireland, in the minds of those who are disposed to approve of state intermeddlings in matters of education.

The allusion to Orange outrages in the North is, unfortunately, one that would not be out of date at this moment. Substituting merely the locality in the county Down that was the scene of the massacre of last July, for that of the county Fermanagh

The newspaper from which we quote proceeds as follows in its account of the occurrences of this day's meeting

EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDING.

It may be recollected that at the Meeting of the Association, which took place on the 15th instant, Mr. Shiel was frequently interrupted by a young gentleman; a stranger called out, "No, no," during Mr. S.'s observations on the conduct of the Protestant clergymen of Dublin, with respect to the Burial Bill. When Mr. Shiel had concluded on that occasion, Mr. O'Connell invited the young gentleman to state any fact in contradiction to what had fallen from Mr. Shiel, assuring him that he should be heard with attention and courtesy.

The young gentleman on that occasion declined to avail himself of Mr. O'Connell's courtesy, but appeared this day; and after the conversation respecting the Quakers, proceeded to address the meeting in a very solemn tone: accusing them of faction, sedition, desire of inciting the mob to violence, and to the murder of Protestants, &c.; particularly blaming Mr. O'Connell as the most dangerous from his talents. Several gentlemen interrupted him, protesting against his being heard as he was not a member; but Mr. O'Connell insisted on his being allowed to go on and finish, if only for the reason that he was a Protestant, as it should not be said a Protestant was denied a hearing. This indulgence disconcerted the orator more than anything else; and he soon sat down.

MR. O'CONNELL rose, and addressing the Chair with great coolness said—I have often wondered how Ireland should be accursed with an atrocious faction of Orange assassins; how the foul fiend of that desperate faction could have acquired so monstrous an ascendancy over the feelings of Irishmen, that no innocency of life, weakness of sex, or infirmity of age, could prevent the daring contempt of the laws of God and nature! But I shall wonder no more! Oh, Heavens! in what society has this young lad been reared, that at his age and with his education he should have acquired opinions and feelings, the mere expression of which makes humanity shudder?

Amongst what other class of men than Orangemen could he have imbibed such unchristian ideas? They could not have been engendered by any thing spoken in this room. He professes to be a Protestant; but did one Christian sentiment drop from his lips during his canting harangue. Is he Protestant friendly to civil and religious liberty? The fanatical animosity with which he charges atrocities upon Irish Catholics, without stating one single fact to justify his calumnies, proves that he is not a friend to toleration, and that his shallow mind, perverted intellect, and habitual prejudices, have so overwhelmed common sense that he has been unable to acquire any knowledge of passing events, but from the statements of the minister, the Orange magistrate, and his myrmidons; and from these authentic sources, the people are to learn, spite of daily and woeful expe-

rience to the country, that forsooth the laws are impartially administered—that the peasant has no grievance or oppression, ecclesiastical, civil, or criminal, to complain of—that the Catholic gentry enjoy all the privileges and benefits of the constitution.

This latter extraordinary assertion reminds me of an anecdote of a French officer, who once observed of an actor, "That fellow, a mere comedian, has fifty thousand francs a year, whilst I, one of the *noblesse*, have but fifty francs." "Aye," replied the actor, "but is it not worth the difference to have the privilege of telling me so?" And may not this young lad say to me, true you are my inferior in birth—(No, no, from the young gentleman and his brother)—the descendant of the ancient Irish proprietors of the soil, yourself a proprietor of no inconsiderable portion, you may be at the head of your profession, and to which you arrived solely by your own energies and industry, but you are—a Catholic, and because I came reeking from the drunken orgies of a secret and sworn band of fanatics, I am entitled, without any other qualification or merit than infuriated bigotry, to ascend the highest step of the ladder of ambition or professional promotion, whilst you have the privilege—of *looking at me there*.

This young gentleman may be but the tutored agent of some plodding, hoary miscreant, who, "sick at heart," in seeing the Catholic Association rise to importance, spite of calumny and misrepresentation, dreads its determination to make known to the world the abuses of power, to proclaim the oppression of the task-masters of Ireland, the intrigues and profligacy of a "faction obnoxious to all good men—a faction that has grown old and rich in power, by the basest arts and the most corrupt insinuation—a faction which has lorded it over the land without control, and spread its roots in the dark, even to the basement of the British throne." This may be an expiring effort of tyranny and weakness, or it may be the mere wanton prank of privileged insolence in this young exclusionist, anxious for the exercise of his inherent right to insult an oppressed and degraded people—for he may be a bravo hired by the Orange club to assail my character and motives, in order to furnish materials for some slanderous attack upon me in an Orange journal—perhaps the article is already prepared for one of the morning papers: but, Sir, I have now passed that time of life when mere personal ribaldry can make me forgetful of the obedience I owe my Maker, and of my duty to my family, and would to God, Sir, I had ever been guided by the same feeling!

Then let this juvenile intolerant report to his employers, that

I withstood his impotent rage, unmoved by the vile calumnies to which it gave utterance—that his slanders were to me but as play-things to a boy, which, after amusing him, he flings to the wind—that in him we recognised an epitome of those odious peculiarities which distinguish the heartless Orangemen, and that his monstrous audacity in coming into an assembly of Catholics, whom he charged with the vilest atrocities, but dared not to support by one proof, served but to excite our quiet contempt; whilst we could not withhold our pity at his early desertion of all those amiable and honourable feelings and principles necessary to the profession of a Christian, and to discharging the duties of a good citizen and a good subject!

And now, Sir, having thus instructed this intemperate youth, let us proceed with the business of the day.

The speaker sat down amid general and hearty cheering.

MR O'CONNELL was followed in his animadversions upon the party who had made this interruption by Mr. Shiel and Mr. Kirwan; the latter of whom having used some strong language, was called upon by the *unknown* for his card. The would-be challenger, however, refusing to state his own name, &c., his request was declined, and he speedily after made the best of his way out of the place. When this matter was concluded, the business of the day re-commenced.

CATHOLIC BARRISTERS.

MR. O'CONNELL proceeded to move his resolution respecting the statements of Mr. Goulburn, that appointments to the value of £3,000 per annum had been bestowed, under the Marquis of Wellesley's government in Ireland, upon Catholic Barristers.

Mr. O'Connell said, that he was aware he laid himself open to the stupid satire of *The Correspondent*, which would, no doubt, accuse him of envy, at not having obtained some of those appointments, which the law declared him eligible to; but the whole course of his public career, and the principles he professed on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, made it impossible (supposing he wished for it) to expect any situation from government. No love of power, no desire of emolument, should ever induce him to flatter the vices of the great, or assail the honest exertions of the poor. He had thus commenced with alluding to himself, in order to exclude from the subject the ribaldry of bigotry, or the feelings of personal disappointment, with which

He might be assailed or accused. It was stated that there were no means of ascertaining how many Catholic barristers were at the Irish bar ; but nothing was more easily known, for there was a separate roll of them kept in the Chancery registry, and there were at this moment one hundred and fifty Catholic barristers at the Irish bar, *not one* of whom enjoyed any professional appointment under government. The administration of the Marquis Wellesley made not the slightest difference as to the distribution of preferment or appointment amongst the Catholic barristers ; yet Mr. Goulburn (then Secretary for Ireland) had modestly taken credit for appointments to the value of £3,000 per annum amongst Catholic barristers !

Mr. Goulburn's statement was given in the newspapers in the plural number. Now it was unquestionably a fact, that *an* Irish Catholic had received an appointment to that amount, and it was equally true, that the appointment was well bestowed ; that the gentleman is attentive to his duties, that he thoroughly understands his business, and has given general satisfaction to the profession and the suitors ; and he would further vouch for Mr. Blake, that any thing said in that meeting would have no influence upon his (Mr. Blake's) mind in the discharge of his duties. So much could not be said in other offices, where a more peculiar mode of doing business prevailed. He (Mr. O'Connell) made that observation because he had known, felt, and experienced the fact. He could speak of these circumstances with pride, because of the contrast ; but that appointment, though it may add to the credit of Catholic talent, was no compliment paid to the Catholic bar of Ireland, nor could Mr. Goulburn take credit for it. Mr. Blake had risen to a proud eminence at the *English* bar, and he made a sacrifice of higher emoluments than his present office to the friendship of the Marquis Wellesley, whose esteem he was fortunate enough to obtain.

He (Mr. O'Connell) did not mean to censure the Marquis Wellesley—much less to attribute to him any hostile feelings towards Catholic aspirants, when he commented upon the neglect of the Catholic bar ; for the Marquis, if he had it in his power, there was no doubt, would give the Catholics fair play: he had made the experiment, and they all knew the result ; but he (Mr. O'Connell) ventured to blame the illustrious Wellesley, because with a sad forgetfulness of what was due to his own reputation, and of the position, in the eyes of the people of the three kingdoms, to which his high qualities had elevated him ; he had descended to trail his laurels and his honours in the dust

and mire of that party which insulted his person and would sully his fame.

The learned gentleman proceeded to state, that having so proudly referred to Mr. Blake's discharge of his official duties, he could, with equal satisfaction, refer to the administration of justice through more officially important, though less exalted individuals. On his (Mr. O'Connell's) circuit he was generally employed for the most of the unhappy criminals; and whilst it was indispensably necessary for Catholics to challenge Protestant jurors, there was scarce an instance of Orangemen challenging Catholic jurors. When he (Mr. O'Connell) alluded to the necessity of challenging Protestant jurors, he begged to be understood as meaning ORANGE Protestants; he should be sorry to confound the terms, or to consider them synonymous.

Mr. O'Connell then adverted to the period of Mr. Saurin's having filled the office of Attorney-General, when that reckless partizan and Lord Manners had, in fact, the command of the country for sixteen or seventeen years. During that time there was, as it were, a premium upon the avowal by any member of the bar of sentiments of illiberality and intolerance—sentiments that previously no man would have had the evil courage of publishing and proclaiming.

Latterly, however, there has been a considerable improvement amongst the learned body—a return to the better practice of former times; but assuredly Mr. Goulburn had no right and should not be allowed to take credit for it. There was another matter to advert to, viz.:—Mr. Goulburn's statement of the constabulary appointments, of which he said one-half were Catholics. Now although there was no great stretch of liberality where the Catholics were fifty to one, yet he (Mr. O'Connell) could vouch for the accuracy of the statement as respected the county of Kerry, and what was the consequence? Why, that that county was the only one in which there had not been murders and aggressions by the police, and although it had been one of the most disturbed counties in the kingdom, it was now the most tranquil.

But was that owing to Mr. Goulburn? No—because the magistracy of the county Kerry kept the appointments of the constables to themselves.

But if the English ministry took their stand for liberality in the appointment of a portion of Catholic policemen, he (Mr. O'Connell) assured them he should defeat all their boasted liberality by the mention of as monstrous an act of intolerance and

bigotry as had ever come within his knowledge. He could give all the particulars if required. The case was this : a gentleman, a major in the army, who had served during the Peninsular war, having received a wound in the knee, was obliged to retire from the service. This gentleman applied to an English member of parliament, the representative of one of the most important mercantile towns in England, and requested his interference with the minister to procure him the appointment of a chief constable in a police district in Ireland. The member took a memorandum of the major's services, and felt confident of his success with the minister, upon whom he afterwards waited. The minister promised compliance ; but after the next interview the member asked the major, as his name was rather a Popish one, if he had many Papist relations. The minister suggested that that might be the case. The major declared he had, and that he was a Papist himself ; and upon the member informing the minister of that circumstance, he was told that the major could not be appointed. (Hear, hear, hear.)

That was a fact for the truth of which he (Mr. O'C.) pledged himself.

Mr. O'Connell concluded by moving a resolution, declaring, that since the Catholic barristers became eligible to many offices, that not one had been appointed by the government.

The resolution passed unanimously.

Of Mr. Goulburn's personal liberality, while in the office of Secretary for Ireland, the following circumstance will enable the reader to form a judgment.

The excellent and truly respected Mr. Bianconi, of Clonmel—at present a considerable land proprietor of the county Tipperary, and holding a position of deserved weight and importance, was at the time of Mr. Goulburn's secretaryship in Ireland, engaged in his first efforts to build up the handsome fortune that has rewarded his extraordinary energy and perseverance. Mr. Bianconi had started a number of large stage-cars, to carry travellers and goods, in several counties of the south of Ireland; and in the prosecution of his enterprise, had found his arrangements much embarrassed by the operation of some of the petty annoyances to foreigners embodied in the then existing ALIEN ACT. Mr. Bianconi, it cannot be necessary to say to an Irish reader, is a foreigner—an Italian, a native of Bologna, in the north of Italy, which he had left while yet a boy, and whence he had wandered, somehow or other, all the way to Ireland, in almost utter poverty and without friends. Here the chance sale of a scanty stock of plaster images that he carried on his head, had given him some trifling means, which with that extraordinary prudence and management that have distinguished him throughout life, he contrived so well to husband and lay out as gradually to accumulate more; until at length he set about what has been the occupation of his life and the foundation of his fortunes—the originating a system of cheap, facile, and convenient stage communication between the market-towns of Ireland. In the course of the development of his scheme, he had, as we

have mentioned, found himself much crippled and embarrassed by the enactments bearing against him as a foreigner; and being advised to look for the privilege of "*denizenship*," which would secure him against these annoyances, applied to the Irish government, through Mr. Goulburn, the proper channel, for the concession of that privilege. An old law of the sectarian Irish Parliament gave it at once to a foreign *Protestant*; but it depended on the favour of the government; whether the letter of the Alien Act should be relaxed, according to the powers given them in that act itself, in any other case.

Mr. Bianconi's application was warmly supported by gentlemen of the first station and respectability in more than one of the counties through which his cars ran, and by several who were active supporters of the government itself; but the fact coming, as of course it directly did, to Mr. Goulburn's knowledge, that the applicant was a *Papist*, he *declined to interfere*, and left Mr. Bianconi under all the most unmerited disadvantages from which the slightest representation from the Secretary for Ireland in his favour would have infallibly caused him to be relieved!

DISARMING OF ORANGEMEN.

MR. O'CONNELL read the draft of a petition agreed to by the committee appointed to prepare a petition for disarming Orangemen; and an amendment having been suggested to one of the clauses of it—

MR. O'CONNELL replied that the amendment would not answer the object of the petitioners, who, unless they are worth £1000, or a fee-simple estate of £100 per annum, are not entitled to keep arms; and all the petitioners complain of is that their professed and sanguinary enemies, although not worth the fee-simple of a glass of whiskey, are permitted the enjoyment of a privilege which enables them to commit such atrocious murders upon the defenceless and unoffending.

It is the duty of a government to protect the subjects, and which, in this instance, they are able to do, by depriving the furious and factious of the means of offence. It was idle to argue that the superior number of Catholics render it necessary to afford Orangemen a countervailing power by the possession of fire-arms: for such a position implied premises that he should regret were sanctioned by rational men. That argument presumed a necessity for the existence of Orangemen; and if that principle was admitted, he could not dispute the conclusion that hostility would exist between the Orangemen and the Catholics.

But let them consider the point as between *Protestants* and Catholics. Surely it was not meant to contend that Protes-

tants required the protection of fire-arms to preserve them from the violence of Catholics? If such an alarming and calumnious doctrine were sought to be established, he (Mr. O'C.) could adduce a striking instance in elucidation; for in his own barony, where there were 14,700 Catholics and about 80 Protestants, none of whom were Orangemen, an outrage against Protestants was unknown.

But the basis of the objection was confounded, for the petition principally alluded to the aggressions of the Orangemen in the north. There they were superior to the Catholics in number—there, too, they were armed—and there, with indignation and sorrow must it be told, the Catholics are only considered as animals whose immolation to the god of frenzied, factious bigotry, is necessary to the existence of Orangemen; but if the Orangemen were deprived of those weapons of destruction, they would cease to be offensive, as the Catholics would be upon an equal footing, and personal prudence would suggest to others, that as those, whom they now goad into opponents, were able to protect themselves, aggression would be a hazardous pastime; not as at present, when they commence by creating a mere riot in a fair, and appear determined to contend upon equal terms, or with no other weapon than what is within the reach of all parties—the shilelah. But when they have drawn the poor deluded people into the affray, then they retreat to their *depot* of fire-arms, and return, dealing death and destruction, without distinction of age or sex, amongst the opposite party.

Now, the object of the petition was to deprive the armed Orangemen of having the lives of Catholics at their mercy, and to place both parties on an equal footing. As to the means of offence in possession of Catholics, government was able to protect the lives of all; or if so absurd an apprehension existed, as that the Catholics would persecute either Protestants or Orangemen, (he did not at all mean to include the two latter under the same head), why, let government send a sufficient armed force under responsible control, to protect the Orangemen.

But could a sensible, unprejudiced man pretend there were any grounds for such apprehension? Would not every Catholic at all influenced by the precepts of his religion, throw his arm of protection round the Protestant whose life should be threatened by the infidel abusing the name of Catholic, and who should learn, that a religion having Christianity for its basis, requires no human force for its preservation? But when do Protestants complain of being abused from Catholic numerical force?

Has any instance of it occurred in the south of Ireland, where the Protestants are so far outnumbered by the Catholics? Or did it occur in Dublin, where, according to the census of the late Rev. Mr. Whitelaw, a Protestant divine, the Catholics had doubled their number within the last seventy years, and where they are now seven-eighths of the entire population? When have Orangemen complained of Catholics having injured them, and that they did not receive redress?

But have not the Catholics been slaughtered in their beds, and in the streets? Does not the blood of slaughtered Catholics rise against the Orangemen of the North; and when have the cries of suffering relatives been heard with effect? Then, as the Catholics cannot obtain redress, even from a constitutional inquest, when conscientious and impartial judges have instructed juries as to the bearing of evidence in support of the accusation—when those who are entrusted with the powers of rulers, are either incompetent or fearful to do their duty in protecting the subjects, is it not reasonable for the Catholics to petition for permission to protect themselves?—by procuring arms, not to *declare war*, but to *preserve peace*; not to offend others, but to prevent them from offending us; to abolish the frequent celebration of *Turkish lents*, the only *lent* known to the Orangemen, when, like the Turks, they sally forth with loaded muskets, and as the miserable Greeks are massacred with Mussulman ferocity, to appease the spirit of Mahomedan bigotry, so the unprotected, armless Catholic falls the victim to the periodical fanaticism of the armed Orangemen.

As the petition sought but the placing of Catholics on an equal footing of personal security with the Orangemen, there could be no substantial objection to the prayer for the disarming of Orangemen.

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, JUNE 2, 1824.

JOHN LAWLESS, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, in the Chair.

ORANGEMEN.

MR. O'CONNELL stated, that he had obtained from two Orangemen, documents which would explain what Sir A. B. King had,

very naturally, wished to conceal from the House of Commons—the obligation of an Orangeman ; which Sir Abraham's brethren in the House were also anxious to withhold from the world, conscious of the enormity of its provisions, and the execration they must inspire in the mind of every Christian.

Mr. O'Connell said the documents were received from a source that would enable the Catholics to make such a case for parliament as could not fail to be established. From one of the two Orangemen who had supplied him with the information, he (Mr. O'C.) had received such corroborative proofs, as could leave no doubt of the authenticity of the statements in the documents he was about to submit to the meeting. That Orangeman had undertaken to prove the statement before the bar of the House of Commons, and, of course, the Association would not fail to make him a sufficient compensation for the risk and hazard of life he should run in thus coming forward. The principles of the system were to be found in the 68th Psalm ; or, in the 67th and 68th of the Douay Bible, and the 24th verse:—

“That thy feet may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies; and that the tongue of thy dogs may be red through the same.”

Mr. O'Connell then read the following dialogue:—

ORANGE SYSTEM.

The System is taken from the 68th Psalm.

The Lecture is—

“Q. From whence came you?—A. From the deep.

“Q. What deep?—A. The deep of the sea.

“Q. Whither go you?—A. To the hill.

“Q. What hill?—A. Even an high hill as the hill of BASAN.

“Q. Who shall conduct you hither?—A. The Lord, of whom cometh salvation.

“Q. Have you a password?—A. I have.

“Q. Will you give it to me?—A. I did not so obtain it myself; but I will divide it with a true brother, knowing him to be such.

“Q. Begin?—A. No; do you begin. RE-MEM-BER.

“This is the entrance password, and is accompanied with three knocks.

“The grand password is SI-NAI.

“The sign is made by placing the forefinger of the right hand on the mouth.

“The answer is by the other person placing his right hand upon his left breast.

“The 67th psalm, according to the Hebrew version, being the 69th according to the Septuagint, and marked accordingly, 67 and 68 in the Douay translation.

“Verse 23rd.—The Lord said I will turn *them* from Basan, I will turn *them* into the depth of the sea.

“24th.—*That thy feet may be dipped in the blood of thy enemies; that the tongue of thy dogs may be red with the same.*”

Mr. O'Connell proceeded—The Orangeman at his entrance was lectured from the 68th Psalm. The 2nd verse of the same psalm, consisting of the following words, was also read to him:—“Like as the smoke vanisheth, so shalt thou *drive them* away: and like as wax melteth at the fire, so let the ungodly perish at the presence of God.”

An amusing incident had occurred to himself, with reference to these same signs and tokens. He had, that morning, in the hall of the Four Courts, made some of the signals to an Orangeman, an acquaintance of his, greatly to the latter's astonishment, and not a little to his confusion, for he blushed and got most exceedingly angry.

The 24th verse, continued Mr. O'Connell, contains the sanguinary principle which induced the horrid murder of poor Grunly, on the 12th of July, 1822, in Armagh, and which has occasioned his sister to wander ever since through her neighbourhood a wretched maniac. When the poor, heart-sickened girl told that she had seen one of the persons who shot her brother *get some of his blood and mix it with water, and make his dog drink it on the spot* where the murder was committed, her frightful tale was not believed.

The same hellish perversion of the sacred text had caused the murders of Wm. Campbell, at Armagh, on the 12th of July, 1823, and in the month of March last, that of Hugh Cassidy.

It was true, persons were tried for these murders, but it was equally certain that not one was convicted. Their blood is still unavenged by the law.

To be sure, the Orangemen and Orange newspapers will deny the authenticity and truth of those documents; but will they venture to deny what has been stated of their system being founded on the 68th Psalm? Mr. O'Connell concluded, by giving notice of a motion for a petition to parliament on the subject of the Orange societies.

THE LATE MURDERS IN FERMANAGH.

On the recommendation of Mr. O'Connell, a committee was appointed to employ an agent and counsel to proceed forthwith to Fermanagh, and collect evidence to be laid before Mr. Blackburn.

Without the active interference, protection, and advice of some professional and respectable gentleman, the witness who possessed the most important information would either be inti-

midated or unadvised, and it would be the object of the guilty party to prevent their access to Mr. Blackburn's court of inquiry. Should those persons succeed in obstructing the communication, the object of the inquiry would be defeated, notwithstanding the industry and ability with which Mr. Blackburn would, no doubt, conduct it.

As the appointment he had recommended would materially facilitate and assist the government in the inquiry, he should move, that, in consequence of the urgency of the case, Mr. Blackburn being to leave town for Fermanagh to-morrow, (this day,) that a committee be appointed to employ Counsellor Kernan, and engage him to proceed immediately to attend the examination.

SATURDAY, JUNE 5.

MR. O'CONNELL said he wished to give notice of a motion as resulting from a late debate in parliament.

Of what occurred in parliament, he said, they knew nothing; but the reports published in the newspapers they had a right to discuss.

He thought it was no small proof how much the Catholic Association had exerted itself in the cause of religious liberty, when it had earned so fully the hostility of an avowed Orangeman, who was, of course, the sworn enemy of Catholic claims, and who, in the discharge of his sworn duty, assailed the Catholic Association. One would have thought the newspaper which had given so laboured a report of Mr. Brownlow's censure of the Catholic Association, would have despised the paltry pretence of regretting that the Association was injuring the cause of Catholic Emancipation. Why, if that were true, the columns of that paper would not have been occupied with Mr. Brownlow's philippic, for he would rather support the existence of an association, whose proceedings were calculated to retard the march of liberality, or the attainment of Catholic Emancipation.

Mr. Brownlow was member for Armagh, where three murders of Catholics had been committed within the last eighteen months. Mr. Brownlow may not think it is the duty of the Association to put down the faction which delights in those scenes of massacre.

In the complaints of the Catholic Association, as reported in

the newspapers, it is stated, that all the atrocities in the country have been traced to the Catholic Association. It was derogatory to the character of the Catholics to condescend to refute so foul and indignant a calumny, and the falsehood of which was known to every man conversant in the affairs of Ireland.

Was it not a notorious fact, the Catholic Association was formed when Ireland was in a state of agitation, little removed from open rebellion? and was it not equally notorious that those disturbances have ceased in proportion as the Association has become loud and determined in seeking a redress of Catholic grievances?—thereby demonstrating, that the charge is wholly unfounded against the Association, and also establishing an important fact, that the peasantry are at all times ready to coalesce with the Catholic Association in their constitutional efforts for relief, as long as they are made with any prospects of success.

It was scarcely worth his (Mr. O'C.'s) while noticing the allusions to himself in that report; but, however, he should say that he was proud of two things connected with that circumstance; he was flattered, felt proud and delighted at the friendship professed for him by such characters as the Knight of Kerry and Mr. Hutchinson—gentlemen of the first class—patriots, whose zeal for their country is only equalled by their proud independence, and while their talents render them formidable to the enemies of freedom, they are active and indefatigable for the promotion of Ireland's prosperity. Their mention of him in the debate reported in the newspapers, had filled his heart with gratitude, and made him have a better opinion of himself.

But he was considered to have deserved the censure of a Colonel Trench. From what he knew of that person, he should be sorry that he had deserved his praise. The report states, that the gallant colonel, by way of reproach, called him *Lawyer* O'Connell; and if there be any turpitude in being a *lawyer*, he shared it with the gallant colonel himself, for he remembered him walking the hall of the Four Courts in his wig and gown, about the time that he (Mr. O'C.) was called to the bar; and the only difference between them was, that the colonel paced the hall and failed, while he (Mr. O'C.) walked it, and succeeded, and therefore had no occasion, Hudibras like, to have himself transformed from a lawyer into a colonel.

The worthy colonel had dubbed him *Protector*; but although his ability to *protect* was not equal to that of the notorious Protector's, yet the gallant colonel knew how he could *assist*, for

the colonel's worthy brother-in-law, Sir Compton Domville, had experienced it in his contest with Colonel White for the county of Dublin ; and the colonel's brother at Swords had also most likely informed him of his ability to protect, as he had felt it in the election alluded to, or perhaps in some of his late professional exertions.

Something was said about the colonel having been favourable to the Catholics in 1812, when he was then young from college, and his bosom filled with youthful ardour and generosity. The colonel young in 1812 ! Well be it so !—and oh, how the avowal delighted him (Mr. O'C.). Why that avowal in itself savoured of the generous disinterested uncalculating liberality of youth, when the impulse of ardent honesty, predominates over self-interest ; and truth and justice are the motives which influence action. But he (Mr. O'C.) remembered that in the year 1812, there was a certain man living called *Napoleon*, and many persons who then thought it prudent to profess sentiments of liberality, had since forgotten their early generosity, and demonstrated the policy of the British Cabinet towards Ireland, that so long as England was in danger, or threatened by her enemies, it was necessary to make a show of liberality and good feeling towards Ireland. But when the danger ceased, oppression was resumed.

There was one circumstance arising from the debate, as reported, that he (Mr. O'C.) felt truly proud of—THE PERFECT DEMONSTRATION OF THE LEGALITY OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

He felt proud, he said, not from any feeling of triumph, but because he was conscious that the Catholic Association would not proceed one instant, if their proceedings were not legal. The Catholics do not *speech of law*, they practise it, not from *apprehension*, but from *respect*. The Catholics truly respect the laws, and he hoped they should yet assist in amending them.

The learned gentleman then gave notice of a motion respecting the report of the debate on the Catholic Association.

At the very moment (Dec., 1846) that we are recording this justifiable boast of M. O'Connell's, he has just been compelled to call public attention to the fact that every association established by him stood the test of the law, although the latter was applied by unscrupulous and persecuting lawyers, judges, and jurors.

LORD REDESDALE.

MR. O'CONNELL proceeded to move upon his notice respecting a report which had appeared in the *Times* London newspaper, stating, that Lord Redesdale had mentioned, during a debate in the House of Lords, that he had been once threatened with assassination in Dublin, the merit of committing such an act having been strongly recommended and urged from the altar of one of the Catholic chapels in Dublin.

In the first place, said the learned gentleman, it was impossible that the *Times*, when it gave insertion to the report, could have credited such a ludicrous absurdity, and in the next place, Lord Redesdale very well knew that a conspiracy to murder is a capital offence in Ireland; and if the Lord Chancellor had received information that it was intended to assassinate him, and that it had been recommended from the altar, it would have been a breach of his sworn duty not to have brought the delinquents to justice; which, there is no doubt, would not have been slow in punishing so foul a crime, where a Lord Chancellor was the object.

Now he (Mr. O'C.) recollected that the day before Lord Redesdale left Ireland, he made a speech from the bench, in which he strongly expressed his regret at being obliged to leave Ireland, and declared that he was exceedingly ill used in being removed from this country, upon whose people he then passed an eulogium.

He attributed his recal to Mr. Ponsonby, although it was really owing to the very extraordinary correspondence that was published at the time, between his Lordship and Lord Fingall, and the Chancellor sent the Commission of the Peace to the Earl of Fingall. But although he acknowledged that it was in consideration of Lord Fingall's great exertions to quell the rebellion he sent him the commission, yet he seemed to infer that, being a Catholic, he must therefore be disloyal. Lord Fingall, who would have consulted his own dignity much more by refusing the commission, accepted of it, and wrote to Lord Redesdale, undertaking to prove that although he was a Catholic he might be loyal. This produced a reply from Lord Redesdale, and a controversy ensued, which, upon the publication of it, displayed so much political absurdity as occasioned his removal, for which he (Mr. O'C.) was truly sorry, for there never was a more learned, able, and impartial judge.

In his anxiety for justice he discovered and proclaimed, in an

emphatic sentence, "that in Ireland there was one law for the rich and another for the poor;" but in his court, he (Mr. O. C.) could declare, that every man without distinction of creed or politics, had justice done him as far as it was possible.

When he (Mr. O' C.) spoke thus of a man who was decidedly opposed to Catholics, who was exerting himself to keep from him (Mr. O' C.) his natural rights, his testimony had some value, when he allowed him all the merits and virtues of a great and good judge, but declared him an incompetent and sorry politician.

In the petition they would call upon their lordships to visit with punishment the author of so unfounded a charge against the Catholic priesthood of Ireland, of whom there is not one existing that the shadow of a suspicion of such a crime could be cast upon.

The Catholic priesthood are distinguished for opposite qualities—disinterested, laborious, and poor; they preach and demonstrate, by the strictest practice, that most essential ingredient of religion—morality, without which they say that no enthusiasm or fanaticism can (like as it is taught in some sects of the day) procure salvation by mere belief in one thing. No belief or faith in Christ will, they say, avail, without the accompaniment of good works and the *practice* of the Christian virtues. The motto of the Catholic priesthood is, "*believe and do.*"

Those who contend that the Catholics are unworthy of emancipation, have had at times the indecency to argue that it was a principle with the Catholics, "no matter what evil you do, if it is for the good of the church." Now he (Mr. O' C.) was uncertain whether the Catholics had more occasion to rejoice at such monstrous calumnies, as they proved to what extremities their opponents were reduced, when attempting to contend against the principles of natural right; or whether it was matter of deep regret, that in the nineteenth century, men of education should be found in a British assembly, whose prejudices, or whose want of information could have occasioned such a groundless imputation against the Catholics, whose religion taught them, in the words of St. Austin, "that to attain heaven itself, the *smallest lie* was not permitted.

Yet those are the people who are objects of such atrocious calumny!

One of the greatest services of the Catholic Association was their taking measure to contradict every falsehood propagated

to the prejudice of their claim and their religion. The Association would not have given the Orangemen any concern, supposing they were debating high treason, but that they perceive it will be impossible to delude the English people much longer, while the Association exists. That it must exist unless there be a new law made to put it down, cannot be doubted; and if they proceed to that extremity, why then they must also put down the Association for distributing bibles without note or comment, and the Associations for petitioning against Negro Slavery. There cannot even be a love feast, without being reached by the act, and it will extend even to meetings of dowager ladies for tea and tracts!

It was a considerable recommendation of the Catholic Association, that, self-constituted as it was of necessity, its being on the watch against Catholic defamers and libellers of Irishmen was found to be an annoyance and prevention of calumny.

The petition, which was now preparing by a gentleman to whose pen the Association were already considerably indebted (Mr. Bric), would say, we don't pretend to inquire into your privileges or observe upon your proceedings, but we complain of a silly and ridiculous calumny which has been cast upon the Catholics. We challenge inquiry—we demand investigation—you have the power of examining upon oath and of bringing before you witnesses. Let the inquiry be followed up by punishment. There is no statute of limitation against a capital offence.

Mr. O'Connell, in conclusion, observed that Lord Redesdale having thus spoken of the Catholic clergy or people, was the more incredible after he had written a letter which should be read.

Here a letter was read from his lordship to a Catholic clergyman, acknowledging some restitution-money transmitted from a penitent of the clergyman's. The letter was very courteous in tone and matter.

Mr. O'Connell having been called to court shortly after he gave in his resolution, a considerable discussion arose as to the terms of it; and Mr. Sheil opposed the mention of the *Times* newspaper, as it would convey a reflection on that paper. But the objection was overruled, and after some time had elapsed, Mr. O'Connell returned to the meeting, to redeem a notice given the preceding week, for the appointment of two assistant-secretaries, according to the rules of the Association, in order to assist the secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.

Mr. Conway was appointed one of the new officers, and Mr. O'Connell took occasion to compliment him upon his services and devotion to their cause. There was nothing to be made by Protestants in becoming their advocate: while money and preferment to be had by opposing them.

A committee was now appointed to prepare a petition, as directed by Mr. O'Connell's resolution.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1824.

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

PURSUANT TO PUBLIC NOTICE ON REQUISITION.

COUNSELLOR CORLEY took the Chair. MR. CONWAY acted as Secretary

ORANGE SIGNS.

MR. O'CONNELL stated that in consequence of the exposé of the Orange system, as given by him a few days since, the Orangemen had found it necessary to change their sign of recognition, and have adopted what they term a *distress sign*, which is made by holding the left hand a little distance from the face, the back outwards, and knocking it quickly three times against the palm of the right hand.

When they change their present sign of recognition, he (Mr. O'C.) would be able to inform the Association of it.— (Great laughter and applause.)

A letter was then read from Lord Donoughmore, expressing his readiness to communicate with the Catholic body, under the designation of the "Catholic Association," or any other name they should assume, and thanking them for allowing him to transfer their petition to the Marquis of Lansdowne, his health preventing his going to London to present it in person.

THE LATE FERMANAGH RIOTS.

MR. O'CONNELL presented the report from Mr. Cavanagh, who was the attorney that had been appointed to attend Counsellor Kernan, at the wish of the Association, in his labours for procuring and arranging evidence for the inquiry before Mr. Blackburne.

After some other observations, Mr. O'Connell said, that there was no man who more readily sacrificed his own interests, by a candid and unreserved disapproval of the measures of government when they merited censure; but it gave him greater pleasure, whenever he was enabled to announce any proceeding of public utility emanating from the government; and certainly no act of any administration had given such complete satisfaction, or tended so much to establish public confidence, and create respect for the laws, in the minds of the Irish people, particularly the peasantry, as that of Marquis Wellesley sending down Mr. Blackburne to conduct the Fermanagh inquiry.

That gentleman's conduct was most satisfactory to the public,

serviceable to the government, and creditable to himself ; and he (Mr. O'C.) hoped, from the information which would be furnished by the learned gentleman, the Marquis Wellesley would be induced not to confine the inquiry to the 16th May, but to obtain correct and official information respecting the other daily outrages committed by Orangemen in the North of Ireland.

He would now give notice that he would, upon the next day of meeting, move for a committee to prepare an address to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, praying him to extend the inquiry which had been instituted as to the circumstances of the Fermanagh outrage, into the occurrences of other days, in addition to those of the 16th of May.

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, SATURDAY, JUNE 11.

RIBBONMEN.

MR. O'CONNELL gave notice of a motion for appointing a committee to prepare an address to the people upon the subject of Ribbonism.

He (Mr. O'C.) was not at all afraid of the Catholic Association being put down by Parliament, nor by Orangemen ; nor was he in the least apprehensive or displeased at the puny efforts of the Orange press, under the direction of its ludicrous and degraded managers. Its imbecile attempts at satire, or wit, only occasioned a feeling of pity and contempt. When it attempted to be serious, it only dished up a meal of deliberate calumnious falsehoods.

He was not apprehensive that any act of Parliament could be made to reach them ; but, if there should, the Catholic Association will acquiesce in it ; for though the Catholics would ameliorate the laws, they have no disposition to break, but to obey them. But should government proceed that length, they must abolish the right of petitioning altogether. If they prohibit the Association from meeting at stated periods for the purpose of preparing petitions, they can regulate their proceedings accordingly ; and unless they strip the people at once of the right of petitioning, they could not prevent the Catholics holding aggregate meetings every fortnight in chapels ; and they will hardly proceed to such a monstrous violation of the constitution as to prevent people assembling in and out of a house for the purpose of seeking legislative redress.

But the best security against such a measure is its application to that darling of ministers, "The Constitutional Association." The Catholic Association, therefore, had not to dread either force, violence, or law.

But there was a description of persons more dangerous to the existence of the Association than any he had mentioned. He had good reason to know that there are several persons, in the pay of the police, now actively employed, and that some of these miscreants—who, with a horrid depravity, do not hesitate to abuse the most holy sacrament by partaking of it with the intention of making it a means the more effectually to betray—are working with a deep and malignant villany to prevail upon the wretched peasantry to continue and revive the system of Ribbonism.

They say to the peasantry, government is not anxious to put you down, and they entice the deluded people into a belief that such is the feeling of government, from their having refused Counsellor Bennett's proposal made from the people, to send in their arms, and take the oath of allegiance, upon receiving a general pardon. This circumstance gives colour to their argument, and they succeed in imposing upon the credulous and discontented, because miserable, peasantry.

To give strength and persuasion to their seductive argument respecting the government, they say that the Catholic Association gives its countenance to that species of delinquency—Ribbonism; and that it is secretly favourable to it; and thus does the unfeeling policy of the government ever leave the Irish peasant the victim of blood-money miscreants, who, by the basest treachery, and most monstrous perjury, succeed in obtaining a comfortable provision for themselves, whilst they spread desolation, havoc, disgrace, and death, amongst a generous, brave, and warm-hearted people.

Mr. Mullen said there were two of those characters then in the room.

Mr. O'Connell, in continuation, said, the address should call upon the people, in the name of God and their country, to resist those seductions—to avoid the contamination of those fiends, who seek to plunge the country in the horrors of insurrection, and who, no doubt, were now to set to work to overthrow the Catholic Association, which nothing could do but the taint of Ribbonism, creeping in amongst the collectors of the Catholic rent; for the Association must, in some measure, share the

reproach of the principles and designs of such Ribbonmen as might mingle amongst the collectors.

There was no security against the oath of the approver—he might represent the Ribbonman's oath and designs in the blackest and most dangerous colours—although there is not one member of the Catholic Association that would not turn out in arms against the perpetration of such deeds (hear, hear), and, therefore, the address should assure the peasantry of the Association's decided disapprobation and abhorrence of the principles of Ribbonism, and that there are no greater enemies to Ireland than those who enter into such a system—a system which must deprive the people of that constitutional redress which they can have no doubt of obtaining through the exertions of the Catholic Association, if not brought into disrepute by those illegal combinations.

DOCTOR DOYLE. -

MR. O'CONNELL, pursuant to his notice, moved a resolution thanking Doctor Doyle for his letter upon the union of churches.

He (Mr. O'C.) had, he said, peculiar pleasure in moving the motion, when so many circumstances concurred to ensure its passing with unanimity, for if any doubt had heretofore existed as to the necessity of the motion, after Doctor Doyle's excellent letter of last night, such doubt must cease.

The public, continued Mr. O'Connell, are very properly and wisely precluded from observing upon the proceedings of Parliament, with which they are not supposed to be acquainted, and his (Mr. O'C.'s) observations would, therefore, only apply to what appeared in a newspaper, and not to what had occurred in the House of Lords.

One of the London newspapers contained an unmerited and unfounded reflection upon the character of that revered, learned, and excellent prelate, Doctor Doyle, to which was attached the title of a person who never signalized himself as a legislator, but as the pompous opposer of Catholic claims, and who, it is stated in the newspaper, had thought proper to style the writer of the admired letter upon the union of the churches, "seditiously impertinent."

Could any proposition be more amusing, than that of com-

paring such a man in the same order of nature with Doctor Doyle?—a prelate whose exertions in the moral world, whose great and general utility to society, and whose powerful and commanding intellect, are, by his more candid opponents, allowed to be of the first order—a prelate disinterested, unpensioned, and uninfluenced by ambition or intrigue, who devotes his energies, talents, and life, to promote the happiness and union of mankind.

Powerless, indeed, must such taunts be when applied to Doctor Doyle, for, who is there forgets that pious and zealous prelate's pastoral address, written with the affection of a parent, and the talent of a philosopher; that address, which extracted approbation even from those determined to hate the writer, and which was found to speak with such persuasive eloquence and sincerity of intention, which appealed so successfully, through the force of feeling and truth, to the reason, prejudices, and passions of the peasantry, that the Government thought it wise to distribute 300,000 copies, which did more to induce patience and tranquillity amongst the people, than twenty Insurrection Acts.

That address had been issued at a time when distraction and despair seemed to have made the land their own—when riot, outrage, and bloodshed were spreading upon every side, and when no one could tell, few ventured even to think, to what pitch the disturbances would have ultimately gone. The effect of it was magical upon the unhappy and half-maddened people. A change ensued such as no one had dared to hope for; and it appeared at once that the spring of insurrection was stemmed even at its source.

And why did Doctor Doyle write that address? Was it to get place, or title, or pension? They had no value for such a man. No! he offered it as a gem of unbought loyalty from a Christian prelate, whose only reward was in seeing his countrymen good subjects and good Christians.

He (Mr. O'C.) was particularly induced to propose the vote of thanks to Doctor Doyle, as a publication from a most respectable quarter had been sent forth to the public (the Declarations of the Professors of the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth, published in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 3rd instant).

Here Mr. O'C. highly eulogised, collectively and individually, the several professors who signed the declaration, and assured the meeting he would not have the hardihood to set up his opinion against an association of such learning, talent, and piety as the professors of Maynooth; but he would respectfully enter

his protest against the political principles announced in the publication alluded to, and he could not allow that the professors of Maynooth, or the Catholics generally, had any great cause for *gratitude*, although bound to the government by their allegiance but surely it was not for a reduced grant of money, or a sum so paltry, when compared with the sum allowed to the Kildare-street Association, in support of a disguised system of proselytism, a miserable pittance for the education of a priesthood, to whom the religion and morals of seven millions of persons are entrusted, not one-fifth of the allowance for charter schools, and trifling, indeed, when compared to the enormous sum allotted to the support of an establishment whose duties are scarcely more than nominal in Ireland.

So far from being spoken of as a subject of gratitude, it ought to be made a subject of parliamentary interference, and, by next sessions, he hoped to have the measure brought before parliament, demonstrating the impolicy of the present illiberal, ungenerous, and pitiful proceedings towards the College of Maynooth, and showing how the government may not only obtain the gratitude of the college, but the affections of the people.

The point upon which he (Mr. O'C.) differed materially from the learned and reverend personages, was their unhappy quotation from a profane writer, Tertullian. As to their attachment to the king, he most cordially and heartily agreed with them, and joined in their wishes for the prolongation of his Majesty's health most sincerely and heartily; as to the bravery of the army, that need not be prayed for, for there was not so brave an army in the world. But for a *devoted* senate, that prayer might have been an appropriate one under a Roman despot, but he hoped never to see such a senate established under the sanction of the British constitution, which intended it as a check to the power of the executive—a sentinel to guard the people's rights, and not an instrument of power to destroy the country's freedom.

He could not think why the professors thought it necessary to introduce that quotation, as if the Catholic clergy would resist an act of justice so necessary as a reform in parliament. Nay, he would go further, and notwithstanding that he fully and unconditionally submitted to the authority of the Church, in matters of *faith*, yet as parliamentary reform was a *political* affair, and supposing the clergy declared against it, he would not surrender his opinion, nor his determination as to the necessity of reform, and which in conscience he believed the parliament required.

The declaration alluded to from the professors was supposed by many to be an attack upon the political opinions of Doctor Doyle, and that he would exercise his powerful talents in reprov- ing such weakness. Doctor Doyle had been frequently com- pared to Fenelon, and by his forbearance, charity, and self-con- trol manifested in his letter of Friday, finished the character, and made the sketch complete—an eloquent and powerfully persuasive writer, an exemplary moralist and divine, devoid of personal pride, and setting an example of that suavity and meekness which should ever distinguish a Christian minister.

But Doctor Doyle would not be loyal, without telling the government whether they possessed the people's allegiance from duty or from affection.

Although the Catholics would adhere to the throne, yet it is wise to let the government know, that if, in the hour of Eng- land's danger, she would rely upon Ireland's devotion, she must cease to be governed by the faction that now divides her—that if England expects filial attachment from Ireland, she must ex- tend to her parental protection; this has Doctor Doyle done zealously, but temperately—and although he has spoken can- didly, he has not spoken unconstitutionally—and as a divine, his piety, toleration, learning, and talent, entitled him to the thanks of every Christian, and required from the Catholics a distinctive mark of their reverence, admiration, and affection.

Mr. O'Connell concluded by moving the following resolu- tion:—

“That the Chairman be requested to transmit to the Right Rev. Doctor Doyle the respectful expression of the gratitude and reverence of the Catholic Association, for the zeal, talent, loyalty, and piety, which have ever marked his exertions in the cause of Ireland.”

A conversation ensued about forged and anonymous letters, which had been received, purporting to narrate cases of grievances, occurring to, or inflicted upon Catholics, in various districts of the North of Ireland.

Mr. O'Connell recommended that no notice or trouble whatever should be taken with any of them. He himself would be almost ruined in postage charges, by anonymous let- ters, if the authorities at the post-office had not been so considerate as to take them off his hands. These letters conveyed plenty of abuse and threats of all kinds. Indeed he had recently received no less than twelve letters, intimating to him, that he might soon expect the favour of having *his throat cut* by the Orangemen (laughter).

A voice from behind Mr. O'Connell exclaimed: “And they are the only people who would take your part.”

Mr. O'Connell—“Heaven protect me from them at any rate. I would be sorry to try them!” (Laughter.)

The affair which occurred at the next meeting was one of those sma., but often very

leazing annoyances with which Mr. O'Connell's path was at different times beset, during the progress of his agitations. A spirit of small economy, commendable, no doubt in itself, where proceeding from an honest and sincere intention, but often very much calculated to impede and cripple important political moves, manifested itself from time to time among the lesser members of committee, in respect to the management of—to use the stereotyped phrase on those occasions—"the people's money." In a popular body, especially in Ireland, where the public mind has not by any means even yet shaken off the tendency to suspiciousness, division and distrust, engendered by the evil experience of long centuries of misrule, the man who cannot otherwise get himself into temporary notoriety, often finds his account in raising objections, starting plausible cavils, hinting insinuations, and assuming a censorlike tone, particularly in questions about money, and of this latter description was the instance with which we have at present to deal.

In this case the economy advocated by the objecting party, might have been attended with peculiarly injurious effects to the Catholic Association, had its advocate been successful. The proposition objected to was, the giving a salary of £160 per annum to the late respected Edward Dwyer—the secretary to the Catholic Association.

Mr. Dwyer whose eminent services and extraordinary efficiency for the office he so long and worthily filled, need no words of ours to praise or establish, had been largely engaged in mercantile transactions; and although a heavy sufferer by some of those unavoidable casualties that will happen to the most prudent and prosperous merchant, was yet in such occupation that it was necessary to offer him a salary high for the then state of the funds of the body, however disproportionate to his merits, and to assure him of a six months' notice of discontinuance.

Mr. O'Connell, who must be allowed to have shown, through life, a singular quickness in finding out the exact man wanted for any special purpose of the agitation, had fixed his eye at once upon Edward Dwyer; and events proved how well and rightly the choice had been made.

SATURDAY, JUNE 18.

COUNSELLOR COPPINGER in the Chair.

A MEMBER called the attention of the Association to a serious infraction of their rules

The Finance Committee had appointed an assistant-secretary at a salary of £160 per annum, with assurance of six months certain employment. This appointment he (Mr. Kirwan) complained of, because the business of the Association did not require the assistance of any additional person.

He thought the Finance Committee had not authority to vote away the Association's money, without their consent, and he thought it discreditable to the Association to give cause for a suspicion of a wilful waste of the public money, while the Association was so largely indebted.

Mr. O'Connell said, that if the gentleman had not been so early in the field, he would have heard him (Mr. O'Connell) give notice of a motion on this very subject; and he would have learned that the Finance Committee had not, nor did they intend it, infringed upon the rules of the Association.

The member repeated his remarks on the subject, and gave notice of a motion for having all the minutes and proceedings of the Committee laid before the Association.

MR. O'CONNELL said, that it had always been the misfortune of the Catholic body, that there were persons ever found who ex-

exercised a species of ingenuity in throwing unnecessary obstacles in their progress. He did not mean that the last speaker was one of those, but his present opposition to the intended appointment would, if successful, prove a serious interruption to the collection of the Catholic rent.—That fund would be composed of an aggregate of very small sums, and requiring numerous and well kept accounts, explanatory and explicit to the public and subscribers. The nature of the Catholic Rent naturally begot a multiplication of correspondence which required to be managed with skill, honesty, and ability, and there was not to be found one who possessed those qualities in a greater degree than Mr. Dwyer.

The Finance Committee, from their knowledge of his intelligence, general information, and numerous qualifications, were eager to engage him at once, and ensure him his salary for six months, for which they undertook to be personally responsible, should not the Association confirm the appointment. The negotiation occurred before there could be an opportunity of submitting it to the Association, as every resolution having for its object the appropriation of money required a fortnight's notice, and it was necessary to secure Mr. Dwyer in the meantime. From the accumulation of business, and increase of correspondence occasioned by the Catholic rent, it required a person of Mr. Dwyer's skill in accounts, and ability, to conduct this correspondence. He felt confident that the Catholic rent would emancipate the Catholics, but its collection required to be managed with ability, in order to ensure that success; and supposing he devoted the entire of his own time, it would not be sufficient for the correspondence which it was intended Mr. Dwyer should undertake.

He should, therefore, give notice of a motion for the appointment of Mr. Edward Dwyer, as assistant-secretary for twelve months, at a salary of £160.

In reply to Mr. Kirwan, respecting debts alleged to be due by the Association, he said, there would be but very few of them; and whatever there were, they should be speedily discharged.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to give notice of a motion for an address to the crown, praying an enlargement of the members who compose the commission for inquiring into the state of education in Ireland.

There was, (Mr. O'C. said) a Mr. Grant appointed on the commission, but who that gentleman was he could not tell.

MR. CONWAY—He is a Scotch gentleman of great liberality.

MR. O'CONNELL said, Mr. Grant being a stranger, could know nothing of the country, whose domestic economy or local habits he was about to inquire into.

MR. CONWAY—His being a stranger was considered a strong recommendation.

Another gentleman was also named, Mr. Glassford, of whom the public or the Irish people knew nothing.

MR. O'CONNELL, in continuation, observed, they were two of the commissioners who had yet to establish confidence by something to be done hereafter. There was then Mr. Blake, another of the commissioners. Here it should be recollected that the duties of Mr. Blake's office were most laborious, and extremely troublesome; the same required four Masters in Chancery. Although Mr. Blake, by great application, contrived to get through, and succeeded in giving universal satisfaction—for besides acquitting himself with ability, he was always to be found in his office; yet unless he determines to relax in that attention to his official duties, he cannot effectually fulfil his appointment of commissioner to inquire into the subject of education.

The appointment, therefore, of Mr. Blake, (said Mr. O'C.) is a mere delusion, in order to make a show of great liberality; and whenever, in future, they may require to make such an appearance, they have only to put in the name of Catholic Chief Remembrancer, which will give a currency and a sanction to those of a host of Orangemen or exclusionists.

As they had Mr. Blake in harness, they merely wanted to take a ride out of him.

MR. CONWAY.—Mr. Blake won't suffer himself to be ridden, you may be sure

MR. O'CONNELL, in continuation, then adverted to the name of Mr. John Leslie Foster. The great and serious disadvantage, (said Mr. O'C.) of having strangers upon this commission is, that they will naturally be influenced by the deservedly high character which Mr. Foster bears as counsel for the revenue.

They will readily confide in him, because, in the discharge of his duty as a public officer, no man can acquit himself more honestly to the revenue, nor more feelingly, judiciously, and honourably to individuals ; and the manner in which he gave his evidence before the committee, with respect to the monstrous system of sub-commissioners sitting in judgment, where they are alternately witnesses and judges for each other, evinced such a spirit of independent candour, and determined honesty, that his name is well calculated to inspire strangers with confidence in whatever he may suggest respecting the people of Ireland.

But it should be recollected, that Mr. Foster is the professed and unyielding opponent of the rights of six millions of his countrymen ; that he has grown up in and imbibed the most determined prejudices against them ; that he owes his seat in Parliament to his hostility to Catholic claims, (and he should here say, the circumstance is most discreditable to the numerous Catholics of the county Louth,) and above all—they should recollect that Mr. Foster is one of the most active and ardent promoters of the Kildare-street Society ; so that really Parliament might as well authorise government to pay the commissioners their salaries, and adopt the last report from the Kildare-street Society as that of the commissioners.

On the first onset, there is a shield of protection, and a cloak of concealment thrown around the very institution, whose system the people were most anxious should be inquired into ; an institution that deprives the country of the advantages which the liberality of Parliament had intended for her ; which diverts the public money to the purposes of proselytism instead of education ; whose sole object is to deprive the Catholic clergy of the confidence, attachment, and respect of their communion, and to encourage the multitude to become expounders of the Scriptures ; and, by filling their minds with doubts and difficulties, qualify them to found some new religion, which, no matter what species, must be preferable to that of the Catholic ; and whilst the first object of education should be to teach truth, sincerity, and benevolence ; fraud and hypocrisy appear the only practical lessons of the Kildare-street Society.

Many persons thought he (Mr. O'C.) should have been on that commission ; but they forgot, he was the projector of the Catholic rent, and there was also a salary to the appointment ; but he cared little for the omission ; and neither wanted, nor would he receive any of their wages. But there were other Catholic

names that ought of right to be upon it, whether he were there or not.

Mr. O'Connell then gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a committee to prepare an address to the crown, praying for the enlargement of the commission. He observed there could be no difficulty in procuring a peer to present the address ; which there ought to be no delay in preparing ; and in sending forward : so that proper representatives of Catholic feeling might attend the inquiries from their commencement.

IRISH CATHOLIC MISSIONS THROUGH ENGLAND.

The learned gentleman next addressed the meeting on this subject, saying, that he supposed that every one present had read Cobbett's letter to Lord Roden, and he sincerely pitied those who had not. That letter gives a masterly exposure of the present system of calumnious fraud practising upon the people of England, by the grossest and most absurd libels upon the Catholic clergy and their religion. In truth the darkest recesses of the most depraved, malignant, and infuriated minds, seem to have been sedulously ransacked in order to supply a sufficient store of filth and abominable falsehood for the gang of itinerant defamers, who are now employed in traversing England, to raise subscriptions for educating those whom they style the benighted, deluded, and uncivilised Irish. At one of those meetings held in the town of Birmingham on the 7th instant, under the presidency of the Earl of Roden—notwithstanding the voluminous, explicit, and satisfactory documents which the Irish newspapers have published in contradiction to the calumny respecting the instruction of the Irish peasantry—one reverend speaker at this meeting, in order to show the necessity for exertions of the meeting, made the monstrous statement recorded of him, in the following extract from the *Birmingham Chronicle* :—

“ At the last meeting of the Warwickshire Auxiliary Bible Society, the son of an Irish nobleman observed that many friends of religion were anxious to know what was the description of books admitted into the Irish Catholic Schools ; he could inform them, that they principally consisted of histories of immoral characters, lives of robbers, and of men and women of the most infamous description. Thus children were made familiar with vice even from infancy.”

And, in conclusion, the rev. gentleman observed—

“ That at missionary meetings, where much was said respecting the wants of the heathen afar off—it was not unusual for persons to reply, why should so much be done for them. when so much is wanted to be done at home ?

"Does not Ireland need our assistance as much as the Hindoos?—Does not Ireland want christianizing as much as other nations? Such persons had now an opportunity, and he trusted they would not neglect that opportunity, of coming forward in the cause of those poor Irish."

After several other rev. speakers had proceeded in such a strain, as if their only purpose was who should succeed best in most foully libelling the Irish Catholics and clergy, an English Catholic clergyman attempted to address the meeting; but after making way for him to the head of the room, when it was known who he was, with that spirit of Christian candour which would have been expected from such a meeting, Lord Roden informed him that no person would be allowed to speak but those whom the committee had appointed. (Hear.)

The indelicacy and injustice of such a proceeding disgusted several persons present, and amongst others a Protestant Dissenter, who attended the meeting for the purpose of subscribing, but immediately quitted it with many others, when the Catholic clergyman bowed to the decision of Lord Roden, and retired.

The Protestant Dissenter, the following day, addressed a letter to Lord Roden, through the *Birmingham Chronicle*, in which he expresses his hostility to the Catholic religion; but, with the liberality of a genuine Christian and the talent of an accomplished writer, he demonstrates the despotic, uncandid, and illiberal conduct of the meeting. (The learned gentleman here read some of the most striking passages of the letter.) "It was well to learn tactics from the enemy;" and he (Mr. O'Connell) could see no reason why the Catholics should not set on foot a tour of a different description to that of Lord Roden and his friends; for as they go about levying contributions on the English people for the alleged purpose of educating the Irish, and avail themselves of that opportunity to calumniate the Irish priesthood and their religion, but will not permit them to be heard in their defence; the Catholic priesthood should prevail on Doctor Doyle, Mr. Kenny of Clongowes College, the Irish Jesuit, and Mr. Keogh, to take a tour of England for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions for *really* instructing the Irish poor, and for the purpose also of, at the same time, disabusing the English people of the prejudices so industriously circulated against the Irish people and their religion, but allowing every opportunity for their opponents to be heard.

It would be the only effectual mode of conveying to the English people that information which the English press does not find its interest to furnish them with, and the English people

would have an opportunity of seeing what an Irish Jesuit really is, and not as described by Sir Harcourt Lees.

Mr. O'Connell then gave notice of a motion for an address to the Catholic clergy, calling upon them to request those distinguished persons he had alluded to, to undertake the mission through England, for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions for the education of the Irish poor; and meeting and refuting the calumnious attacks of which he had spoken.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25.

MR. O'CONNELL gave notice of a motion for appropriating the sum of £100 for the purpose of discharging all claims of newspapers upon the Catholic Association; but he would assert that there were several made which had no just foundation.

At one period of the Catholic Board he (Mr. O'C.) found they were £3000 in debt, and in the space of one fortnight he cleared off £2500. Mr. Hay kept possession of some of the books containing the finance accounts. These he retained as private property, upon what grounds he (Mr. O'C.) could not conjecture; but he would repeat, although he knew he was putting his hand in a hornet's nest, that the most unjust demands were made by the Dublin newspapers—by the base Dublin press, that turned upon him and all the honest Catholics for pursuing the same measures that are now approved of; but in spite of that vile press, he now held up his head too high, and enjoyed too much the confidence and consideration of the public, to be affected by their envious rancour or impotent malignity.

If he now made use of them, it was not for their sakes, but because they were necessary, and served the cause in which he was engaged; but their claims should, when all others were discharged, be considered as honorary ones, notwithstanding he knew them to be unfounded, and also knew the calibre in society of those persons who put them forward. Although the debt was that of the peers and aristocracy, whose interests alone they advocated in those days, yet the Catholic rent, the voluntary contribution of the people, should pay those claims upon the nobles and honourables, who have now shamefully deserted their own cause.

The appointment of Edward Dwyer, Esq., having been again called into question,

Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to defend the appointment of an assistant-secretary, whose duties could only be performed by a gentleman of education, intelligence, and ability, who would have to reply to upwards of twenty letters per day, to keep 2500 accounts, to correspond with and supply the country collectors and treasurers with books, and to acknowledge the receipt of every contribution; for those who subscribed one pound were as deserving of an acknowledgment as those who transmitted much larger sums.

If, he said, he could be surprised at any occurrence in the unfortunate history of the Catholics, it would be at the opposition that was offered to this appointment; but to prevent further cavilling, he would himself pay the £80 for the six months. (Cries of no, no.)

AGGREGATE MEETING.

Mr. O'Connell gave notice of a motion for calling an aggregate meeting.

The Association, he said, had been appointed for the purpose of preparing petitions to parliament for obtaining redress for Catholic grievances, to procure a due administration of the laws, by bringing before the tribunals those who convert them to party purposes, and the oppression of Catholics; and for the purpose of procuring the necessary funds for those objects.

As the petitioning sessions were now at a close, the Association would give the Catholic body an opportunity of assembling generally, and of approving or condemning their proceedings. The aggregate meeting for that purpose it was intended should be held about the latter end of July, against which time the heads of a number of petitions would be ready to submit to the meeting: amongst which would be one for liberty of conscience upon subjects of religion, to be presented by Sir F. Burdett and Lord Donoughmore.

If they could get the Dissenters of the North of Ireland to join them in that petition, they would pray the legislature to extend to the Dissenters of England the privileges of the Dissenters in Ireland; and if all Jack Lawless says of the Dissenters of the North of Ireland be true, there would be no doubt of their joining in the petition. The next would be upon the subject of Catholic education—another upon church rates, for

the purpose of obtaining some remedy against such monstrous injustice as is suffered from this impost.

In a parish in Waterford, containing 3640 inhabitants, amongst that number of persons there are but four Protestant families, yet the Catholic inhabitants are assessed in the sum of £2600 per annum, for supporting a church for the use of those four families ! There would be also a petition praying for a mitigation of the tithe system ; one for a real revision of the magistracy ; one for the revision of corporations ; and, above all, one for the reform of that system of practical corruption so unblushingly practised in the Dublin corporation, or "city nuisance ;" and then the Catholics will join them in seeking for the removal of the other greatest nuisance that ever cursed a city—the Paving Board.

SATURDAY, JULY 3.

COUNSELLOR SCANLAN in the Chair.

A LETTER was read from Frederick William Conway, Esq., (the late respected proprietor and editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, but then only editor of that journal), resigning, as one of the secretaries of the Association.

Mr. O'Connell paid Mr. Conway a marked compliment, and moved him the thanks of the Association for his very eminent services in the Catholic cause. Several other gentlemen spoke in high commendation of that gentleman, and the motion being put from the chair, was carried unanimously.

MR. O'CONNELL then rose and said, he regretted much that he had to occupy the attention of the gentlemen assembled with matters of a personal nature ; at a moment when so many important subjects of public interest were pressing upon them for discussion.

It was, however, after all not a matter of little importance to the Association, that the character and conduct of its members, especially of those who had to come forward often before the public, should be vindicated from wanton and undeserved attacks. They could not be successfully assailed and disgraced, without some portion of their discredit falling upon the Association, which allowed them to take a prominent part in its proceedings. He should, therefore, without delaying them with any further preface, throw himself upon the kindness of the Association, while he observed upon some calumnies that had been recently circulated against him by a portion of the Irish press.

Before he entered upon his own case, he should just advert to the charge against his friend, Counsellor Coppinger, who, it was stated, had brought an action against Mr. Magee, the proprietor of the *Evening Post*. Now the Mr. Coppinger who was plaintiff in that action, was a young gentleman, a merchant of Cork, and although it was stated with great confidence, that Mr. Magee was left to pay £500 damages and costs upon that occasion; the fact was, that he never had occasion to pay one penny on account of that verdict; for, in the first place, the damages were not for £500 but £60. He (Mr. O'Connell) was the person employed to negotiate the transaction between Mr. Magee and the real defendant, who not wishing to appear in the transaction, ordered his law agents, Messrs. Allen and Ware, to defend the action. They did so, and upon the verdict and the costs being ascertained, the real defendant authorised him (Mr. O'C.) to request of Mr. Magee to accept a bill at twenty-one days for £140 damages and costs, drawn upon him by Messrs. Allen and Ware, in order that the transaction might have all the necessary forms, as if Mr. Magee was the real defendant.

That bill for £140 he (Mr. O'C.) paid, and could have it produced with the necessary receipt upon it.

So much for that calumny; and now he should proceed to those that affected himself more immediately.

He was sorry to say, that he had found it necessary to bring an action against two newspapers, for the malignant libels he should now call their attention to. It was his first determination to apply for a criminal information against them, because that course would give him an opportunity of denying those charges, upon oath; but, upon reflection, he abandoned that idea, because the defendants would not have an opportunity of proving their allegations, and, according to a principle of the British law, acted upon in the courts, but which he (Mr. O'C.) had always condemned and contended against, the defendants would be considered equally culpable whether those charges were true or false; but he challenged inquiry, and for that purpose determined on bringing his action, and if they have a case, they will obtain their costs, and he that ignominy, odium, and disgrace, which should follow upon establishing such charges.

Then, indeed, he should acknowledge himself undeserving the consideration of the Catholic people.

For the purpose of rebutting these calumnies distinctly, and meeting them broadly without any reservation, he would divide them under four heads:

The first charge was, "That a person named Harding Tracy had him completely in his power; that he knew, and could prove him to be the author of the publication for which he was prosecuted; that he destroyed the manuscript at his request; and that he (Tracy) afterwards procured a part of that manuscript!!! That he was a model of firmness and constancy, and refused to betray him, although earnestly requested by government to do so."

With respect to that statement, he should set out by assuring the meeting that *every word* in it was false and unfounded—that in short there was not only not a single particle of truth in it, but that the direct contrary was the truth and the fact. The *Evening Mail* said that the speech published in the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, was not spoken. The speech was written as nearly in substance and words, as it was spoken. It adverted to Napoleon's having regained his throne, which he Mr. O'Connell had attributed not to that great man's military talents, but to the gratitude and admiration of the French people, for the code of civil laws which he had instituted, and the perfect administration of justice between man and man, which he had established, and which the Bourbons have been forced to continue. And he then had gone on to contrast that code of laws, in their principles and effects, with those of other kingdoms. Saurin took up that speech, and whenever *France* was mentioned he inuendoed *Ireland*, and whenever the word *French* occurred, he set it forth in the information, as meaning thereby the *Irish*.

Perhaps in ordinary times a defendant in such a case might have appealed to a jury with confidence, but those were not such times, and Mr. Saurin was Attorney-General. The proprietor of the *Cork Chronicle*, Mr. Healy, became a bankrupt after the information was filed; and in order to preserve the paper and property for Healy's family, Doctor England, the present pious, learned, and amiable Catholic Bishop of Charleston, in America, benevolently stepped forward, and at a public sale purchased the interest and rights of proprietorship of that journal.

Mr. Saurin did not think it right to come upon Dr. England, and as the proprietor was in the situation just mentioned, he abandoned the information against him and filed one against Tracy, the printer of the paper, in hopes that he would be enabled, by punishing that poor man, to trace the manuscript of the speech to him (Mr. O'Connell). Under these circumstances he waited upon Dr. England, as the then proprietor of the paper,

and the protector and friend of Healy. Doctor England advised that he (Mr. O'Connell) should pay the law expenses; and if the defendant was found guilty, leave the provision for the defendant to the proprietor of the paper.

Tracy did not plead; and Saurin, in a speech of some hours, expended all his gall and vituperation in personalities against him (Mr. O'C.) He referred to the newspapers of the day to show whether he did not stand with his arms folded, listening patiently to Mr. Saurin, and when he (Mr. O'C.) replied to him, not one word escaped his lips in allusion to the personalities of the Attorney-General. He restrained his indignation, and abandoned retaliation, fearing it might have an unfavourable effect upon Tracy.

As soon as Tracy was sentenced, he applied to government for pardon, stating that he was but the printer, and could not give any information of the person who supplied the speech. He also made an affidavit to that effect, but it was not considered sufficiently strong, and he made a second, which was drawn for him by Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, in as full and explicit terms as it was possible, and repeated that, to his knowledge, he (Mr. O'C.) had no connexion with the publication. After a considerable time taken to consider the second application, it was declared not sufficient, and a third affidavit was drawn, but without better effect; and then the poor man, who was honest, said, "What I have stated are the facts, as far as I know, and as you are not satisfied with the manner or form in which I state them, draw up an affidavit in the strongest terms you like, draw it up yourself, and provided it is in substance what I have already declared, I will swear to it." The government had an affidavit drawn up accordingly, in their own terms; and when it was found that Tracy could not assist in tracing the manuscript, he was discharged, upon the condition of his not returning to Cork.

Now was it consistent with the fact, or was it possible, that a man who was discharged upon his own affidavit that he had no knowledge of, nor any means of knowing that he (Mr. O'Connell) was the person who furnished the report, could have any portion of the manuscript in his hands, and have so romantically and heroically refused to give it up, or that if he had done so, he would have received an immediate pardon?

Really party spirit should not carry men to such an extraordinary and monstrous length beyond truth, with the view of defamation. After Tracy had got out of prison, Mr. Townsend, who had a friendship for him, gave him employment, and he

lived for seven years afterwards. The *Correspondent* hated him (Mr. O'C.) as much then as it does now ; and is it likely they would have let the opportunity pass without publishing the circumstances, when they had the man in their employ to prove the facts, and when he would have received money as well as liberty ?

If the *Correspondent* had done so, he (Mr. O'Connell) would have brought Tracy to prove his affidavits denying what they now charged him with. He believed it was hardly necessary to say, after what he had stated, that nothing could be more utterly false than the charge he had just replied to. (Hear, hear.) The second charge was, "That Tracy lay in prison couched on straw, a cell his chamber, and was left to starve in the society of felons."

With respect to Tracy lying on straw, he could not say ; but if he did, he had a strange fancy, for he (Mr. O'Connell) paid half-a-guinea a week to provide him with a feather bed. If he associated with felons, his taste and habits must have been naturally depraved, for he (Mr. O'C.) paid forty shillings a week for Tracy's board at the same table with Mr. Eneas M'Donnell. (Hear, hear.) And he shared the same bottle and the same table with that respectable gentleman at his (Mr. O'Connell's) expense, although Dr. England said he should not do so. Mr. Eneas M'Donnell could prove the fact, for he (Mr. O'C.) gave him the money to pay for Tracy ; and to the hour of Tracy's death, he was not aware but it was Mr. M'Donnell who supported him. The simple reason why not, was, that it was well to conceal the fact from Mr. Saurin, lest that knowing he paid for Tracy, the poor fellow might be kept in for the purpose of punishing him (Mr. O'C.) by mulcting him in the payment of that weekly sum.

He wanted no gratitude from Tracy, who most thankfully acknowledged Mr. M'Donnell's kindness ; and if more money was not expended on Tracy, it was not his fault, for he told Mr. M. to let him have everything that could contribute to his comfort—(Hear)—nor would he now have mentioned those circumstances, but that he had been taunted with having neglected Tracy.

With respect to the third charge : "That Tracy's wife and family were left to starve, whilst he was in prison ;" and the *Correspondent* adds, "that his weekly wages were stopped by the proprietor of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, during his imprisonment." If this charge were true, it would have been a most

monstrous breach of faith on the part of Doctor England, who was never accused of the contempt of a moral duty, for he undertook, at the commencement, to pay Tracy's wages in full to his wife and family every week during his confinement. Upon he (Mr. O'C.'s) hearing, while in Cork, about that period, that a report was circulated of Tracy's family being left unprovided for, he waited upon the Rev. Thomas England, as the Doctor was not in the county, and that rev. gentleman assured him that he himself paid Tracy's wife, every week, the full wages to which her husband would have been entitled if at work ; so that, instead of being neglected, the Tracys were actually in the receipt of more money than before the imprisonment ; and yet the *Correspondent* had added that calumny to the one which appeared in the *Mail*.

And now he would proceed to the fourth charge. "That he (Tracy) got an illness in prison of which he died."

The fact was, that Tracy did not die for seven years after he was imprisoned, and then it was not from an illness contracted in prison, but from a sore throat ; and during the seven years he lived after this event, not one murmur escaped his lips of his (Mr. O'C.'s) neglecting him nor that he (Tracy) was his victim. It is clear such complaints would not have hurt, but served him with his employer. It would have just suited the *Correspondent* to be enabled to say. "We have a man in our employ, the wretched victim of this demagogue, who, but for the relief we afford him, would long since have perished from illness and want, occasioned by his too honourable and chivalrous fidelity to an ungrateful and seditious libeller."

But what was the fact, the man never applied to him (Mr. O'Connell) but twice for thirty shillings each time, long after he left the prison, and which he gave him ; and a third time he wrote him a letter in which he stated distinctly and emphatically that he had no claim upon him—that his imprisonment was not occasioned by him but by the proprietor of the paper ; and which, thanking him for the other two favours, stated that he was in great want of five guineas.

He had now his letter to produce, and also a receipt for the five guineas from the messenger who brought the letter. He fortunately could produce evidence, and witnesses, to every circumstance he had stated. Doctor England would shortly be in Ireland, on his way to Rome, and Mr. M'Donnell was in London. He would be enabled to have his trial in March next, when he pledged

himself to prove that every tittle of the calumnies lately published were false and unfounded.

He confessed that of all charges he did not expect to be accused of the vice of love of money. He was also taxed with assuming a consequence from his popularity. That he had exhibited any such feeling he was unconscious, at least of the intention; and if he possessed any popularity, it was the result of his feeble, but earnest exertions for the liberty and prosperity of his oppressed country. He had, when the interest of his fellow bondsmen required it, bearded the vengeance of the government—he had, when the interest of his client commanded it, bearded the authority of the bench—and he had, when the Catholic cause was to be benefited, bearded the virulence of the press—he would repeat, of that “*base press*,” which had calumniated him.

But he respected the press generally, and no man venerated more its legitimate functions. It was with regret he learned, that any thing which had fallen from him should have been the means of depriving the Catholic Association of the services of so able, independent, and distinguished a member of the press as Mr. Conway. For the first time in his life, he should acknowledge, that if through him (Mr. O’C.) the Catholics lost that gentleman’s assistance, he had done mischief to the cause.

After thanking the meeting for the kindness and indulgence with which they had heard him, the learned gentleman sat down amidst the most general and hearty applause, from the most numerous meeting we have yet seen in the rooms of the Association.

Of course, even such a vindication as the foregoing, did not save Mr. O’Connell from the calumnious attacks of the enemies of the cause, nor induce the slightest evidence of regret on their part for their unfounded aspersions. Throughout his life the calumnies here refuted, and others in abundance, have been from time to time repeated and renewed; and even some of those who were at different periods working in the agitation with him, have not scrupled, because of some petty and unwarrantable exasperation against him, to take up and seek to wield the foul weapons of the worst foes to their country and their religion.

THE POLICE.

Mr. O’Connell observed, that the great utility of having sent down professional gentlemen on the inquiry at Fermanagh was now apparent, as also the propriety of abstaining, as he did at the time, from any mention of the misconduct of the magistrate, in order that the government should have the exclusive credit of bringing the magistrates before the proper tribunal without any public suggestion; and it was consolation to see that his Majesty’s Attorney-General had so promptly come forward to

discharge not more important than beneficial to the public interests.

The persecuted peasantry would now have convincing testimony of the value and advantage of seeking *legal* redress of their grievances, instead of the horrible remedy of violence and outrage. They had only to make their wrongs known, and government would see justice done; and here was an unanswerable proof of the advantage of the Catholic Association, to whom the peasant can look with confidence as a medium for having his complaint laid before the government and the public. Since the committee were appointed to nominate a professional gentleman to attend the inquiry in New Ross, they had received intelligence that it would take place on Monday, and in consequence had appointed, at the least possible fee that could be given to professional gentlemen, Counsellor Bric, and Mr. Corcoran, the attorney, to attend the inquiry at New Ross, and assist the people in bringing the matter fairly before the magistrate.

SATURDAY, JULY 4.

APPOINTMENT OF A CLERK—CATHOLIC RENT—PROSPECTS OF EMANCIPATION.

MR. O'CONNELL now moved, pursuant to his notice, for the appointment of a clerk for the finance department.

Mr. O'Gorman, he said, attended this meeting, not as secretary to the Association, but to the Catholics of Ireland, in order that he might have minutes of the proceedings of the Catholic Association to frame his report to the aggregate meeting. An attempt had been made to establish a secretary for the Catholic rent for each county, but no aid had yet been derived from that measure. There was a committee of accounts, of which, one member at least, and Mr. Sugrue, attended frequently during the week. He (Mr. O'C.) whenever he could get from court, attended to the business of the Catholic rent, and yet the most both could do was to sign documents, and give directions for answering letters.

The Catholic Rent was yet but in its infancy. They had, he believed, about £600 in hand, and the expenditure had been

about £20. They were, as yet, in correspondence with but a few counties. They had a right to expect being in correspondence with 32 counties, and 2500 parishes. Accounts would be opened for at least one million of individuals, and thirty-two ledgers should be kept, besides an account for each city and town: and to men of business it was unnecessary to observe, that the success and prosperity of every commercial and financial undertaking depended in a great measure upon the correctness of its accounts.

Surely such accuracy was particularly necessary in the case of the Catholic rent, when millions of persons would have to be satisfied of the appropriation of their money. Those interested in the success of the Catholic rent, must desire to have the accounts appear so intelligible, so clear, and so explicit, that no insidious enemy could succeed in raising doubts, or confirming lurking suspicions as to its application.

And how were they to effect that object without a guide or compass to direct their proceedings? Was it by the gratuitous or volunteer exertions of a finance committee, or other persons? Experience had shown that such would be a poor reliance. It was not to be expected that individuals would entirely neglect their private concerns, to attend to the multifarious duties of an office which required a man of intelligence, who should be a good accountant, a good clerk, a man of some literary abilities, and a person of character and respectability.

Such a person he had found, and he thought it was not going too far, under all the circumstances, to secure one on whose skill and integrity he could rely, and make arrangements for his engagement at a certain rate of compensation. It was true he had put such a recommendation on the books of the Finance Committee, but he had since reflected upon the subject, and he considered that to nominate would be an assumption of power and patronage that did not belong to him—(Cries of no, no)—that the subscribers of one penny per month had as good a right to participate in the appointment of officers to the Association as the most liberal subscriber. (Hear, hear.)

It is not enough for public men to act from pure motives, but they should also appear to do so. Their conduct should be above doubt. In the appointment of persons to situations in the Catholic Association, it would be of importance to avoid giving cause for cavil or insinuation. He thought, therefore, they should follow the mode of election adopted in the Dublin Library, the success of which institution he attributed to its

popular elections, where no autocrat assumed to rule its government, and he rejoiced to find that a spirit of wholesome jealousy had manifested itself in the Catholic Association as to the distribution of its funds and the exercise of its patronage. He could not help considering that feeling as a fortunate omen of the success of the Catholic rent ; to the success of which *great measure* he looked with confidence to produce *Catholic Emancipation*. With *fifty thousand pounds a-year* they would have the means of silencing the various calumniators of the Catholic people, and of meeting each at every threshold of his hold whenever he should possess a local habitation ; they should be enabled to explain and proclaim the principles of the Irish Catholics, to state their wants to Europe, and to make the nations of the world familiar with their degradation ; to procure honourably the aid and advocacy of the English and Irish press, and to obtain at least a fair trial of the merits of the Catholic claims.

England should at last become sensible, that it is necessary to her safety that the affections of Irishmen should combine with their allegiance, and this island become a part of her strength, and not continue a portion of her weakness. Could it be said that Ireland was not a part of her weakness, when in the time of peace an army of 36,000 men was necessary to preserve even a semblance of tranquillity ? What would be their condition in time of war ? and would he not be a benefactor to his country—would he not be the best friend to his Majesty, who could present him in the hour of England's danger with an army of 36,000 men ? Would he not effectually do so, who should remove the necessity for retaining an army to that amount in *Ireland*, when it should march to encounter a *foreign foe* ? But who could say that an army of 36,000 men would be sufficient for the preservation of Ireland, with a peasantry goaded by persecution, want, and despair ?

If the shores of this country were to be suddenly threatened by invaders, offering the powerful stimulant of men, money, and support, *one hundred thousand men* would not be sufficient for the maintenance of tranquillity ; and, therefore, if the Catholic Association should succeed in removing the causes of discontent and disgust, they would make a present to his Majesty of an army of 36,000 men, besides the annual additions to it.

That *mighty instrument*, the Catholic rent, from which those blessings were to be anticipated, should not be left for support to the evanescent, however enthusiastic, feeling of a popular meeting. It must be established by perseverance, and pro-

longed by the attention of its managers, the minuteness, accuracy, and the fidelity of its accounts, and the propriety of its expenditure. For the first time in his life, he (Mr. O'Connell) should say, that the Catholic people would owe him a debt of gratitude, should the *Catholic rent* succeed to the extent he expected, and should it be firmly established.

The learned gentleman concluded with moving the following resolutions :—

That it is necessary to have a clerk employed to assist in managing the collection of the Catholic rent, and in the distribution of the books and reports, and in carrying on correspondence with the several parishes, cities, and counties in Ireland, and in keeping the accounts of the Association, so that each member shall be able to see, at all times, the amount of all local and individual subscriptions, and the application of every shilling expended.

“That the Association do proceed on Friday next to elect such clerk by ballot.

“That the amount of the salary to be paid to such clerk be referred to the committee of accounts, who are to report the nature and extent of the duties of such clerk, and the remuneration to be accorded to him.

“That such remuneration, however, be not paid, unless the Association at large shall, on motion, of which a fortnight's notice shall be given, approve of the same.”

Another and a final struggle was now made to limit the salary proposed for Mr. Dwyer, £100 being the limit suggested—but the amendment was lost upon a division.

Cornelius M'Loughlin, the good and venerable old patriot, who, after a long and honoured life of upwards of ninety years, throughout which he was ever faithful to his country in her time of need, now sleeps, these three years back, in Glasnevin cemetery, “the sleep that knows no *earthly* waking,” attended on this day, as throughout his life he did, whenever he thought that Daniel O'Connell wanted him!—giving his firm support to the original motion, he said that, “it could not but excite surprise in a man of business, to hear them dispute about a salary of £150 for the services to be performed. For his own part, he would only express his astonishment that a competent person could be found to undertake such work for such a salary.”

And thus was at length carried the first appointment of the most excellent and valuable secretary of the Catholic Association, old Edward Dwyer!

But though carried, the annoyance to Mr. O'Connell on the score of it was partially revived, even at the very next meeting, and often afterwards during the existence of the Association. And in many another case of much the same merits and nature, had he to encounter paltry oppositions and controversies of a similar kind throughout the whole course of his subsequent agitations.

On the succeeding Saturday the tactics of the cavillers led them to assail, generally, the report of the Finance Committee, which had recommended the salary of Edward Dwyer, and in the course of the discussion the calumny against Mr. O'Connell on the subject of the printer, Tracy, was rather unnecessarily re-introduced. Mr. O'Connell expressed himself warmly upon this.

He said he thought he could now at last trace the source from whence the malignant aspersions of the Orange press had originally emanated. (Cheers.)

If the press of Dublin had meant fairly towards him, they would have published the statement given in that truly Irish and independent journal, the "*Cork Mercantile Chronicle*." In that paper there had been set out an extract from the ledger of that establishment, giving the statement of the account of wages, in debtor and creditor form, between the late Harding Tracy and that journal. From this statement it most clearly and satisfactorily appeared that Tracy's wife was not only paid her husband's full wages while he was in prison, but so accurate and minute was the account, that it proved she had received ten shillings and elevenpence over and above the actual sum of those wages.

The statement from the *Chronicle's* ledger also contained other important facts, entirely corroborative of the fidelity and accuracy of the account in question :—facts to which he (Mr. O'Connell) had pledged himself on a former day, and defied contradiction. Yet the Dublin press had taken no notice whatever ! It might perhaps answer some of the purposes of a "*liberal Catholic*," who had written for the Orange press to charge him with leaving persons to suffer. (Cheers.)

MR. KIRWAN.—"If that allusion is intended for me, I distinctly deny the charge."

MR. O'CONNELL rejoiced to hear the contradiction. He was always ready to avow, and be responsible for what he *really* said, but he protested against any responsibility for language which newspapers, for their own purposes or particular views, might attribute to him. Mr. Magee was prosecuted for a speech of his (Mr. O'Connell's), but on that occasion he informed Mr. Magee he was ready to avow what he said upon the occasion of that speech, and if he would take his (Mr. O'C.'s) own words, he should have them.

He made the same proposal to the Attorney-General, in court, and offered him a report of the speech taken in short-hand, by Mr. Kernan, the barrister. That avowal and proposal never appeared in any of the Dublin newspapers—and was he not justified in calling it a *base press* ?

Here Mr. Mullen made some suggestion to Mr. O'Connell, who, resuming said,

No, Mr. Mullen is mistaken, we are kept from the enjoyment of our rights as freemen, and the term of our degradation prolonged by the want of spirit, zeal, and independence of a press in Dublin, which assumes a character to which it is not entitled.

either by talent or virtue. Mr. Magee was convicted for the speech alluded to, but was never sentenced, because the Attorney-General's great object in the prosecution was to fasten upon him (Mr. O'C.).

It was painful to have to speak in the tone he did ; but men should defend their character when assailed, and neither the unworthy aspersions of Mr. Kirwan, nor the unfair conduct of the press, could be allowed to pass without reproof.

An explanation was then made by Mr. Kirwan, and the matter terminated.

SATURDAY, JULY 17.

QUESTION OF HOLDING AN AGGREGATE MEETING OF CATHOLICS.

MR. O'CONNELL said he had cheerfully conceded to the opinion of his friends, though contrary to his own, that there should be no aggregate meeting in Dublin till the first week in November next, and that the Association should adjourn for general business from the 31st July till the second Saturday in October.

He then gave notice for the appointment of committees to prepare an address to the people of England, and drafts of the following petitions to parliament, to be submitted to the aggregate meeting.

To pray that the Protestant Dissenters of England may be placed upon the same footing as the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland.

That the education of the poor in Ireland may be confined to morality and literature, and not consist of proselytism.

Upon church rates—praying that the poor Catholic peasant may not be obliged to pay for the repairs and embellishment of a splendid church, for the use of a few families. Mr. O'Connell here instanced a case in Chancery, in which he was engaged, and it was no matter of doubt, that a sum of £500 had been three times levied to repair a church, and it was not finished yet.

There were at this moment, in the town of Carlow, *two hundred men seeking employment at twopence per day*, and who, but for the exertions of the Catholic clergy and Doctor Doyle, would have ere now perished from famine, leaving numerous families to share the same horrible fate. Yet in this neighbourhood, where there are but thirteen Protestant families, and a church

capable of affording accommodation to thirty times the number, they are about erecting a new one, towards which the famishing peasant, when his potato garden yields a return to his laborious toil, must contribute.

Also drafts of petitions relative to the diminution of tithes, and increasing the facility of paying them in kind. And for the better administration of justice in Ireland.

In June of this year a public dinner was given to Mr. O'Connell, of which the following was the newspaper report:—

DINNER TO MR. O'CONNELL.

Thursday, 3rd inst., the public dinner given to Mr. O'Connell took place at the Corn Exchange. A few minutes after seven o'clock,

The Chair was taken by COLONEL BUTLER.

At the right hand of the chair sat Mr. O'Connell: Mr. O'Gorman, the secretary to the Catholic Association, sat on the left hand of the chair; and next to Mr. O'Gorman sat Mr. Sheil, who was a guest. Nearly three hundred sat down to dinner.

The two vice-presidents were, Mr. Francis Wyse and Mr. Nicholas Mahon.

As soon as the cloth was removed, the chairman gave the usual loyal toasts.

The chairman then gave,

“Our guest, Daniel O'Connell, Esq., the honest and uncompromising champion of civil and religious liberty.”—This toast was drunk with four times four, and was followed by general cheering, waving of handkerchiefs, and every demonstration of enthusiastic applause.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to return thanks, on which the applause was renewed. When silence was restored, that gentleman spoke to the following effect:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—There certainly are sensations infinitely too big for utterance; when a man talks of wanting words, it merely happens that he wants ideas. That, however, is not my case, for ideas so crowd upon my mind, and so unite in forming that grateful feeling in my breast, to express which even the powerful dialect of my native land must fail. I defy the vigorous expression even of Ireland's ancient tongue to express that feeling. No, gentlemen, I am not able to express it; nor shall I take up your time in the presumptuous attempt.

What is it that has brought us together? Not the humble individual who addresses you. Millions could not buy the suffrages of the men whom I see crowding this room; wealth could not buy your voices; let me hope that simple honesty has done it. It is that principle of disinterested affection for the finest

and most wretched country in the world, that has brought us together. The freedom of my native country has been my first object through life; and no matter how I may be calumniated I will, while I have breath, struggle to make Ireland what she ought to be—

“Great, glorious, and free;

The first flower of the earth—the first gem of the sea

When I see such an assemblage as that present this day, I will not dare to despair. From this moment I cherish hope, and will make a vow to my country not to despair. There is not the physical force in Great Britain to prevent Ireland's rights. What is the principle on which we act? We respect the constitution—we revere the throne.

I love that part of the constitution, the Commons' House of Parliament. It is as if the nation at large were to congregate; and if members are selected to represent the people, it is because it would be impossible that the entire nation could form one assembly. Every being, however, who cannot attend, is supposed to have his representative, though some of the agents who are elected, and who should be responsible to the public at large, sell the people's rights for a portion of the people's money.

If in our struggle to obtain our rights, we do not pause to calculate and weigh every word—if we use the language of honest indignation to the congregated Orange phalanx of bigoted oppressors, let us not be condemned for it, we ought to be applauded. It shows at least the value we set on the privileges of which we have been deprived. Ought we not, then, to speak in the language of indignation?

It has been said that I have been intemperate. Gentlemen, I acknowledge I have been intemperate. I will be intemperate, and I ought to be intemperate; I have three hundred witnesses here that I am intemperate; I have passed a career of twenty one years in the cause of Ireland; I have served three apprenticeships in looking for her rights. In all our efforts to regain our own rights, we have never attempted to infringe on the rights of others. Where is the man who can place his hand, or point his finger, on one word that we have used derogatory to the rights of others? I speak not of myself alone, for it would be presumption; but I speak of those better, abler, and more talented men, who have acted with me (applause); and who, like me, are closing their years before the struggle in which they have been so long engaged, has closed.

With every motive to find fault, our enemies could not taunt us with a single word or act derogatory to the rights of others. And this was not because our language was guarded, for our tongues were ready enough to speak. We gave utterance to our most secret thoughts. Our principle and our practice was liberty of conscience. That principle which would emancipate the Catholic in spite of Lord Eldon and Lord Liverpool. That principle which would emancipate the Protestant in spite of Ferdinand the Seventh. That principle which would emancipate the Christian in spite of the Sultan of Constantinople.

Lord Eldon, Ferdinand and his serene Highness, are three members of the same society; they act on the same principle; they form a holy alliance against the liberty of conscience; the Sultan would shut out the Christian at Constantinople; Ferdinand would shut out the Protestant at Madrid; Lord Eldon would shut out the Catholic in London (Applause). What a worthy trio! how well, how wonderfully matched. The Turk, the Protestant, the Catholic bigot alike enforcing tyrannic exclusion. Nay, I will vindicate the religion I profess, the religion I consider it my highest happiness to belong to. Ferdinand is no Catholic—at least he is no true Catholic, when he thus outrages and tramples upon conscience! (Applause.) And I know that our excellent Protestant friends, the truly liberal Protestants of both countries, do equally repudiate Lord Eldon's miserable bigotry as any part of their Protestantism. (Cheers.) As for the Turk, I make Lord Eldon a present of him; they are congenial souls. (Laughter and applause.)

This Lord Eldon is remarkable for his attachments as well as his antipathies; for a long period of his life he cherished the strongest affection for the abuses of the Court of Chancery; and by reason of those abuses he is said to have put £50,000 a-year into his pocket; no one, however, will be bold enough to say that in his eye the emoluments recommended the abuses; they were suffered to go on perhaps upon grounds of public utility, and certainly where a man commenced a litigation before his marriage, his grandchildren had strong prospects of bringing the matter to an issue. (A laugh.)

His lordship has his doubts upon everything save upon the subject of religious liberty. At the Pitt Club he had the presumption to say that if the Catholic was the established religion, he hoped that the Protestants would be treated as well by the Catholics, as the Catholics had been by the Protestants. Oh! God forbid, if the Catholics had the power, that they should

treat the Protestants in the manner they had themselves been treated. If the conviction was once on my mind that the Catholics could be guilty of such breaches of faith, such a violation of every principle of honour, I would retire at once from public life.

The first state in the new world which gave liberty of conscience, was the Catholic State of Maryland, in America. Our object is the establishing religious equality in Ireland, to see the Protestant and Catholic carry their prejudices together, and lay them as an offering upon the altar of their country. The means of freedom are in our hands. Seven millions of people cannot be kept much longer without their claims being hearkened to. Every field is a redoubt, and every mountain a tower of strength. Ireland could shake the oppressors from her, like dewdrops from the lion's mane. Every man's first thought on his awaking in the morning, and his last on retiring to his bed at night, should be, how he could best perform his duty to his country; in what manner he could most effectually—

“ Make Ireland great, glorious, and free;
The first flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea.”

Mr. O'Connell sat down amid a loud burst of applause.

Mr. O'CONNELL rose again, to propose the health of a Protestant gentleman who felt anxious to come amongst his Catholic fellow-countrymen.

“ Oh! what a country would Ireland be, if she possessed many such men as Colonel Butler. (Loud applause.) He knew no distinction but that between Irishmen and the enemies of the country. Colonel Butler looked to a long line of ancestry, only to see which amongst them was the best, in order to imitate that man.” Mr. O'Connell concluded by giving,

“ The health of the chairman, Colonel Butler.”—Three times three and loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks, and stated his regret at the absence of Lord Cloncurry, (who, it was expected, would have presided,) in consequence of a domestic calamity. The chairman then read a letter from his lordship, addressed to Michael O'Brien, Esq.; it was as follows:—

“ June 1, 1824.

“ MY DEAR SIR—A very heavy and unexpected domestic calamity will prevent me meeting my respected friends on Thursday; pray apologise for me.

“ At the best I felt very unequal to the situation in which their kindness would have placed me, and which nothing but my paramount love for Ireland could have induced me to accept. Feelings, if possible, more strong and more painful, render me now incapable of the exertion. Dear, Sir, your faithful and obedient servant.

“ CLONCURRY.

“ To Michael O'Brien, Esq.”

The chairman then gave—“ The health of Lord Cloncurry.” The toast was drank with three times three, and loud applause.

MR. O'CONNELL rose. “ He begged permission to return thanks for his noble friend. Ireland had not a better friend, or one more devoted to her service.—

He sets a splendid example, possessing a munificent fortune, and spending every shilling in his native land.

“He was the poor man's justice of peace; he was the friend of reform. In private society—in the bosom of that family, of which he had unhappily lost one, he was the model of virtue. In public life he was worthy of the admiration and affections of the people.”

The CHAIRMAN then gave—“Richard Sheil, Esq.” This toast was drank with three times three, and loud applause.

The death of the good Lord Cloncurry has just occurred as we were tracing the preceding record. He was, indeed, in most things, a bright example to those in Ireland who have the advantages of rank and fortune. He resided in Ireland, and was never happier than in contributing to the comfort of his neighbours and dependants. Although his judgment was limited, nay, often seriously defective, his intentions were generally excellent; and very many, indeed, were the instances in which he displayed an entire and most earnest zeal to advance the interests of his country, no matter at what cost to himself. Mr. O'Connell often and deeply regretted the occasional differences, some of them of a very important nature, which he was compelled to have with such a man.

An attack having been made in the London newspaper, *The Courier*, upon Mr. O'Connell for remarks in a speech of his relative to the bigotted conduct of Dr. Magee, the then Protestant Archbishop of Dublin; we here give his reply.

ASSASSINATION OF AN ARCHBISHOP.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE LONDON COURIER.

“ Merrion-square, Dublin, June 17.

‘SIR—In your paper of the 28th of May, you condescended to introduce me to the English people in a new character—no less than that of a promoter of the assassination of an Archbishop.

“I admit that you did not directly call me an assassin; but after the necessary rebate for a few precautionary ‘ifs,’ which you were pleased to employ, the amount of your description of me was just such as might have tempted ‘the great unknown’ to make use of me as a counterpart of that Balfour of Burley, who, armed with a sharp sword and divers texts of Scripture, cut down one archbishop, and terrified sundry others.

“After having thus described me, you called for a ‘prompt and indignant denial’ of the language respecting Dr. Magee attributed to me by the Orange press of Dublin, and which you had the good taste to select from that *pure* source of information.

“‘A prompt denial’ I could not afford to give you. You

assailed me in the busiest part of the law term, and until the sittings at Nisi Prius were over, I had no chance of being able to bestow five minutes on my own vindication. And as to '*indignation*,' you must indeed excuse me. I cannot spare you any indignation. I am too much habituated to foul and false charges to have reserved any indignation for such ordinary matters.

"It is not from the Irish press alone that I have become accustomed to falsehoods—I am often assailed in 'high places,' from which a plain injustice, and the base violation of a solemn treaty, have excluded me. And whilst the London newspapers carefully publish the calumnies uttered against me, they, with a precaution quite characteristic of their impartiality, avoid printing what I am enabled to say in my own vindication. I cannot, in my humble capacity of a public advocate, or of an elector, oppose the election of any talentless bigot, but I am immediately assailed by his relatives and friends 'in and out of doors,' and the ready London press, which gives circulation to the virulence of those gentry, does not condescend to copy a single line from the Irish papers which contain my defence.

"'*Use*,' they say '*lessens marvel*;' and thus my feelings have become callous to those things which would excite the irritation of a less abused man.

"In Ireland, however, I believe I require but little vindication. I have certainly many virulent political opponents, and many interested bigots who hate me because they fear that even my exertions may diminish, if not dry up, the streams of corrupt speculation. Although I have many such adversaries, I do not know that I have one single personal enemy; and if I have—why from my heart I forgive him. In Ireland I am quite careless of what falsehoods may be circulated respecting me; I believe them to be quite harmless; they cannot, therefore, claim from me any indignation.

"Besides, Sir, I reserve my indignation for other and higher purposes—my indignation foams at atrocities of quite another description. It is the misgovernment and oppression of my native land. It is that continued system of injustice and oppression to Ireland which Lord Clare, in 1800, stated to have then existed for upwards of six centuries, and which Lord Liverpool, in 1824, treated as still in existence—it is the denial of liberty of conscience to six millions of faithful subjects—it is the countenance shown to a wicked and brutal faction—it is the refusal to do justice to as fine a people as the sun ever shone

upon—it is the concession of the Insurrection Act as the only boon this wretched country is to receive—it is the quackery of Tithe Composition Acts converting tenths into fifths, and the ludicrous solemnity with which ‘petty sessions’ are converted into a panacea for all evils—it is the stupid hypocrisy of endeavouring to proselytise where they affect to educate, and the village tyranny engendered by that process—it is the humbug of grave committees examining ‘*the butchers about the keeping of Lent.*’

“Oh, no—you English are *too wise* for that ; you *only* examine police justices and sapient king’s counsel, on the fitness of keeping themselves in pay and power. It is these, and the one thousand and one other abuses, absurdities, and oppressions, which have converted the most fruitful and abundant island in the world into one universal blot of misery, want, and woe. It is these—and think you that I forget the two millions of fertile acres which the clergy of the few enjoy, along with the tithes of all the rest of the land? Think you I forget the church-rates, which compel the famishing Catholic peasants to erect gorgeous churches for that clergy, that they may pray and preach in stately loneliness?

“Sir, if the waters of my indignation were as wide and as bitter as the ‘remote Caspian,’ I could not afford one drop of it for mine own cause or my own calumniators.

“Having thus excused my delay, and satisfied you that I ought not to be indignant at being called an assassin, I now proceed tranquilly—*sicut meus est mos*—to show you that I do not deserve that name.

“On the occasion to which you allude in your paper of the 28th of May, I remarked with more of ridicule than severity, on the letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, read by that truly excellent and amiable man, the Lord Bishop of Limerick, in the House of Lords.

“The part of that letter in which his grace expresses his fear of assassination, excited a good deal of laughter. I, however, treated it more seriously—I denied that the Irish were prone to assassination. I adverted to the insurrectionary murders, and without in the slightest degree justifying or palliating those crimes, I briefly showed that they were crimes of a savage and barbarous warfare, at which the blood-covered murderers were almost as much sinned against as sinning—and whilst the crimes of those murderers deserved punishment from man, and armed the Deity with vengeance, they yet did not come within the class of assassinations.

“I next adverted to the case of the late Earl of Clare, the worst enemy Ireland ever knew; *amongst other reasons, because he was the great artificer of the Union*—and from a familiar tale, showed how he was a living proof that the Irish were not assassins. I then ridiculed the idea of assassination as applicable to Dr. Magee. I showed that there was no possible motive for such a crime. That he had neither vices nor talents to entitle him to that distinction. That he was not formidable to any party but his own. That the Catholics should rejoice in having such an enemy—a person who shrunk from avowing what he countenanced—if not directed, in more than one place, and upon more than one occasion—a person who then stood contradicted in a plain matter of fact, by the unimpeached and unimpeachable testimony of the Catholic clergy of Dublin, in their published resolutions—resolutions which not one human being was so profligately insane as to gainsay.

“I expressed my fervent wish that he should continue at the head of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and after a good deal more of similar topics, I concluded by proving that he was as safe as if he had been of another and of a softer sex, and rode on a pillion behind a foot-boy.

“Such is the brief abstract of what I said respecting Doctor Magee; my discourse was delivered with a light heart, and to an auditory inclined to laughter. The points of ridicule are lost in translating it into the sober dulness suited to your grave and dignified columns; and although you may condemn the taste of the speaker, you must be much more devoid of fairness than I could, on *this* occasion, wish you to be, if you do not altogether, and at once, acquit me of being ‘a stirrer up’ of assassination.

“I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,
“DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

Our next matter refers to an occasion not of much importance in itself, but for the sake of the concluding part, we should be loath to omit it.

ANNUAL DINNER OF THE BLANCHARDSTOWN PATRIOTIC SOCIETY.

THE friends to this society, amounting to three hundred, sat down to dinner in a magnificent pavilion prepared for the occasion. After the cloth was removed,

MR. O’CONNELL observed, in proposing the health of “His Majesty King George IV..” that the reception he had received

must have manifested to him that his Irish subjects do not deserve the treatment they receive—that they were not intended to be slaves of a base and grovelling faction ; but that the God who inspired them with so much generosity, bravery, and virtue, intended them to be partakers and the defenders of freedom.

The learned gentleman proceeded, in a most eloquent manner, to state that the disposition of his Majesty and the temper of the times were favourable to the cause of Irish liberty, to ensure the success of which required only the union and energy of the people. Mr. O'Connell then gave,

"The King."—(Four times four.)—Tune—God save the King.

"Old Ireland."—Patrick's Day.

"Marquis Wellesley."—Here in cool grot.

MR. O'CONNELL took an eloquent review of the public life of his Excellency. In India, his wise and manly conduct confirmed the British power. In Spain, he was the man who really upset the great conqueror of nations. His manly and sagacious mind clearly perceived, that unless the feelings of the people could be enlisted in the cause of government, that that government would inevitably fall before the power and the intellect of Napoleon. He advised the guarantee of a free constitution—the people rallied round it, and Napoleon fell.

If that constitution was afterwards basely invaded—if the patriots who so bravely defended their country—who upheld the government and expelled the invader—if those great men met with no other reward than the dungeon or the scaffold—no reproach on that head could revert to Lord Wellesley ; the glory of saving nations were justly his—the shame and dishonour of violating constitutions belonged to their Majesties of the Holy Alliance.

The government of his Excellency in Ireland, though coerced by a powerful faction, who were hostile to the cause of the people, had yet about it the marks of a just and popular administration. There was an evident disposition on the part of his Excellency's government to deal out justice purely and impartially *There was no hostility to liberal opinions—there was no persecution of the Press.* The underlings of government were no longer permitted to run riot on the people.

His Excellency, coerced as he was, had little opportunity of showing any marks of favour and encouragement to the injured party ; but the Irish were willing to do justice to his motives. They were so long accustomed to insult and oppression tha

they willingly and sincerely applauded the government, merely because it abstained from doing ill. He (Mr. O'C.) was well inclined to believe, that the Marquis Wellesley was disposed to act in this country on those just, liberal, and statesman-like views, which he carried into effect everywhere else. He, whose policy had so much improved and strengthened other countries, could not be insensible to the glory of raising his own; of raising her from a state of wretchedness and division, to a state of prosperity and independence. Such was the task which he hoped was reserved for his Excellency.

The spirit of the times, after all, was favourable to the cause of Ireland—to promote that cause—to improve her condition, and to extend her liberties, he hoped, would yet be in the power, as it was in the disposition, of an orator, a scholar, and a statesman, whose talents and attainments shed so much glory upon his native country.

"The Blanchardstown Patriotic Society, and (said the Chairman) permit me to add, the health of its founder, Doctor Magee."

DR. MAGEE rose and returned thanks.

"Colonel White."—The Harp that once through Tara's Hall.

Here MR. O'CONNELL paid a merited tribute to the memory of the late Mr. White.

"Rev. J. J. Deane, and St. Bridget's Seminary."—Let Erin remember the days of old.

REV MR. DEANE returned thanks, and proposed—

"The health of our patriotic, illustrious, and beloved Chairman—Daniel O'Connell."—Drank with the most enthusiastic applause.

MR. O'CONNELL returned thanks.

After various toasts and speeches, Mr. O'Connell gave the health of the Stewards; Mr. Edmond Rorke, one of the number, returned thanks, and thus concluded—

"Many toasts have been drank with enthusiasm; I shall offer one, dear to the affections of every husband and son; and with the warmest feelings of my heart, I beg to propose—

"The health of Mrs. O'Connell, the pattern of Mothers;—the pattern of Wives;—a Lady whose charitable and exemplary conduct sheds lustre upon her sex and station."

MR. O'CONNELL rose to return thanks. It did not, he said, become him, to say much on that occasion, yet his feelings did not allow him to remain silent.

To the lady whose health had been so given, he owed much of the happiness of his life. The home made delightful by his family, was, after the cares and agitations of professional and public life, the scene of all the happiness he enjoyed. He was indeed happy in that home—happy in those children, into whose minds a fond mother had early and carefully instilled a reverence for religion, the love of God, and the love of their country. (Applause.)

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, SATURDAY, JULY 31.

COUNSELLOR FINN in the Chair.

Mr. Maurice O'Connell (eldest son of Mr. O'Connell) was requested by the meeting to act as pro-secretary.

After Mr. O'Connell had read the proceedings of the last meeting of the Association, the following was announced as the sum received during the week—£69 2s. 2½d.

Letters were read from the Right Rev. Dr. Kelly, Catholic Bishop of Dromore, and two others from Catholic clergymen, upon the subject of education, giving details of its progress in their several localities, and the efforts they were making to extend it.

MURDER IN BALLIBAY BY ORANGEMEN.

Upon a report of a sub-committee appointed to consider this case (on which an application was made to the Association for legal assistance), it was resolved, that Mr. Kavanagh be sent down to conduct the prosecution of the offender.

CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER.

MR. O'CONNELL read a letter from a Mr. John Dogherty, an Irishman, residing in the town of Manchester, stating that the Catholics of that locality had it in contemplation to set on foot measures for the establishment of a Catholic newspaper in London.

After observations of some length as to the obvious advantages to the Catholic cause from such a proceeding, the writer proceeded to show its positive necessity. He attacked in sharp terms the body called the "London Catholic Association;" and stated that the Catholics of Manchester, as well as those of several other districts throughout England, had, after considering the matter well, determined upon engaging Mr. Andrews, author of the Catholic magazine called *The Orthodox Journal*, as editor of the new paper, and concluded by calling upon the Association to appropriate a portion of the Catholic rent towards establishing it.

After reading the letter, Mr. O'Connell observed that he would have submitted it to the Association on the last day of meeting, but that he was prevented from attending by imperative business. He then moved that the letter should be inserted upon the minutes; and in moving that resolution he should remark, that it was not the business of the Irish Catholic Association to enter into the quarrels of the two bodies of English Catholics for any other purpose than that of uniting them.

The Catholics of either country could not afford to fritter

away their strength in petty differences amongst themselves when they had such formidable and persevering enemies to contend with ; and he could wish them to adopt a middle course, each yielding something to the other, in order to effect conciliation serviceable to their general interests. But he would, however, say, that he was not sorry the Catholics of England had thrown the English Catholic Association overboard, if, indeed, that phrase could be correct ; where the English Association thought themselves so superior to the Catholics of their own country and the Irish Association, although they were no more to the latter than a cock-boat to a man of war, or a canoe following in the wake of a seventy-four ; and if ever they expected to arrive at the haven of emancipation, it must be under the lee and protection of the Irish Catholic Association. (Hear, hear.)

He was, however, rejoiced to find the imperious aristocracy of English Catholics at length become active in the common cause.

The petition presented by the secretary of the English Association, against the calumniators of the Catholic religion, will make those dastardly assassins more cautious in their future reproaches against its principles. The Irish Catholics were not desirous of a connexion with the English Association. Ireland was no better treated under Catholic than Protestant England, and the dissensions among the Irish were as ardently promoted from the English conquest to the reformation, as since the latter period.

It would certainly be a judicious disposal of a portion of the Catholic rent, to apply it towards establishing a Catholic paper in London ; and he trusted that when the Association met in October, their funds would enable them to carry their wishes on that head into effect ; but it would be most essential that whoever should have the management of the Catholic paper, should have an intimate and thorough knowledge of Ireland, and her affairs and localities—that they should be able to rebut and detect more effectually the slanders of the Orange press, and dissect the fabricated statements which interested and fanatic bigots gave existence to—that they should be able so effectually to demonstrate their formation and origin, as by a happy and complete exposure to exhibit them in all their native depravity, so that they should not deceive any but those who were willing to be deluded.

He should sit down without any further allusion to the Orange press ; but that he recollected a late instance so strongly illustrative of what he always observed was the peculiar charac-

teristic of that organ of faction—it had a vehement affection for a *plain lie*; and in pursuit of that indulgence, asserted that Cobbett received a bribe from the Catholic Board for his exertions in the cause of religious liberty; now that justly celebrated man has been so much traduced that he (Mr. O'C.) would wish to brush one calumny off his shoulders. Cobbett's late articles upon the subject of religious toleration and Ireland's wrongs, were the genuine and unpurchaseable effusions of a mind convinced by the force of reason and justice. He (Mr. O'C.) had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Cobbett; and there was only one thing that Cobbett would accept from the Association—an order for sending his register to the Association. A list of his valuable works should be posted up in the rooms of the Association, in order that the numerous persons attending, may have an opportunity of seeing what eminently useful works they can supply themselves with from the pen of such an admirable writer. Such a measure might give an increased circulation and usefulness to his works, and that was the only bribe he would accept.

The oppressors of mankind were ready enough with their bribes, but the professing friends of liberty were very niggardly in support of advocates.

Mr. O'Connell then gave notice of a motion for the Association taking Cobbett's Register and for posting up a list of his various works in their rooms.

STUDENTS OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

MR. O'CONNELL moved, "That all students of Trinity College should be admitted to the Meetings of the Association without payment."

He did not mean they should have the privilege of voting or speaking. The heads of the College had prohibited them from becoming *members* of political societies, and he (Mr. O'Connell) was not desirous they should be associated with *illegal* and *secret* political societies; but he was desirous that they should have an opportunity of attending the proceedings of the Catholic Association, in order that if there were any persons, part of whose duty it was to engender and encourage prejudices in the students' minds against the Catholics, and by false accounts make them imagine the Catholics were other than they are, they should have an opportunity of ascertaining, by their own observation, how unfounded were such calumnies. They would hear nothing at

the Association but professions of reciprocal good feeling and perfect liberality ; and if any unfavourable impressions towards Catholics should have already been received, he felt confident that they would be dissipated when the candid and ingenuous minds of the youths had an opportunity of judging for themselves by their attendance at the Catholic Association.

He was induced to make the present motion in consequence of many gentlemen being obliged to leave the room, upon it being intimated to them that unless they were members they were not eligible to attend.

Mr. Curran seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

With reference to the admission of College students, it is necessary to remark here, that for some time considerable caution was required. In fact the Trinity College "boys," as they were and are still often called, had nearly upset the infant Association. On leaving Capel-street, Mr. O'Connell had taken for that body the extensive premises on Usher's-quay, built by Homes, an enterprising speculator in buildings, long known in Dublin, but not a very successful one. These premises, subsequently used by the owner as a hotel, were at first all that could be desired. But the "College boys" commenced attending in great numbers, and interrupting the meetings to such an extent, as seriously to disquiet Mr. O'Connell as to the possibility of continuing the latter. To get into a more *popular* and *populous* neighbourhood, he transferred the sittings to the present Corn Exchange, where, without any previous expectation, he found he had a *guard* in the *coal-porters* (whose stand is just opposite) quite sufficient to frighten away the young Orangemen. He often afterwards declared that it was the Dublin coal-porters who saved the agitation, and thus mainly "*carried emancipation!*"

On the same day we have last noticed, Mr. O'Connell moved, that as the Association was about to adjourn till the second week in October, the committee of accounts should sit every Saturday, for business of the rent. It should be an open committee, in which any member could give his opinion.

Several additional members were then added to the list of the committee, and three were declared to be a quorum.

MR. O'CONNELL renewed the following notices of topics upon which committees are to be appointed to prepare petitions against the next aggregate meeting.

- 1st.—Religious liberty for ourselves and for Protestant Dissenters.
- 2nd.—Education on liberal and just principles.
- 3rd.—Abolition of church rates.
- 4th.—Diminution of tithes, and to facilitate the delivery in kind.
- 5th.—Abolition of corporation abuses, monopolies, and powers of levying money.
- 6th.—The administration of justice, rejection of party sheriffs and party juries, correction of the list of magistrates, and great diminution of their powers, so as to bring them as near to the common law as possible ; the revision of all inferior jurisdictions ; reformation of the spiritual courts, and the taking away of all jurisdiction from them in cases of tithes and Ecclesiastical dues ; abolition of the far greater number of local courts and total alteration of Civil Bill Tribunals ; abolition of trials before sub-commissioners, and various other topics connected with the administration of justice.

7th.—To enable ecclesiastical persons to make leases of three lives or forty-one years.

8th.—For redress of local grievances, and in particular for the abolition of the Paving Board.

9th.—For the introduction of poor rates.

Upon the latter topic Mr. O'Connell expressed a very reluctant impression of its advisability under the sad existing circumstances of Ireland. Such a measure, it might be hoped would lead to putting the burthen of the distress of the country upon the right shoulders.

Unhappily, the condition of the Irish peasantry was an anxious disposition of mind to work, as evidenced by the hardships they undergo in journeys through England in quest of employment ; but that disposition was without effect ; for what signified a man's ability and desire to labour, if he could get no one to give him employment ? Men so circumstanced were as destitute as those who from infirmity and age were unable to work ; and since the *unfortunate and fatal Union* nine-tenths of the peasantry of Ireland have been without employment. The country, drained of her resources and stripped of her gentry, could not furnish employment to a labouring peasantry, and unless they obtained a scrap of land to raise a supply of potatoes, they should perish for want or live upon charity.—("Hear, hear—true, true.")

There was some reason to expect an effective stimulus to the gentry, to induce a residence at home in their apprehension of the effects of poor laws—nor was there any hope of their obtaining any other mode for mulcting those who year after year impoverished the country and gave nothing in return.

The policy of doing away with middle-men was eagerly caught at. The nobility and gentry in England and this country were quite fascinated with such an equitable proposition, because the profits and advantages which the middle-men received would go into their own pockets. The exactions of middle-men were echoed, while there was not a sound of the oppressions of absentee agents, who like their brethren in the West Indies, are influenced by the same inhuman policy. The latter may work the slaves upon an estate to death with impunity. Their object and interest is, to obtain the greatest possible produce from the estate, without regard to the sufferings or feelings of the slaves, through whose exertions it is procured ; the agents' object is the per centage, and that is also the stimulus to the Irish agent ; and for that purpose he squeezes to death the slaves on the Irish estate.

By one process of law, he exacts the utmost, and frequently

more than the value of the land. There is neither indulgence for misfortune, nor encouragement for industry. The comfort or prosperity of the *tenant-slave* is never taken into consideration—all must yield to the main purpose of having funds to meet the drafts of the heartless absentee, and to compensate the avaricious agent, and although there might be many instances of middle-man oppression, yet they were generally the source of support to the peasantry. They resided with their families in the country. Their style of living was in proportion to their incomes, which were not received from the tenants to be spent in a foreign country. They were the only approach in Ireland to that independent class in England, called yeomen.

He did not mean by yeomanry, that association of men who, in Ireland, are armed against the liberties and consciences of their countrymen, but that class of substantial farmers who existed in England before they were broken down by the fall of prices and abolition of the middle-men. The Irish middle-men were the only substitutes for the absentee landlords, and if their moderate resources did not enable them to confer the same benefits on the kingdom generally, they at least had done much that would otherwise have been left undone; and had contributed to the support of the peasantry, by giving them land for labour, and providing them with employment.

The peasantry were now without those resources. The evil was increasing daily, and something should be done to meet it. It would not exactly do to transport the people. Cobbett had demonstrated that it would take £50 a-head to establish them in a colony, and it would be better to spend the millions of money necessary for that purpose in Ireland. There was no mode of making the absentees feel the effects of their unnatural policy at present likely, save by poor-rates.

There was also another plausible recommendation to their establishment, namely, that poor-rates were payable out of tithes, and the *tithe-owners would, for their own sakes, spare the wretches* whose crop of potato ground is at present made tributary beyond all measure to the splendid incomes of some bloated and rapacious high dignitary. They would then be cautious in drawing them to the extreme of distress, *because they should then contribute towards the support of their victims.* If a code of poor-laws had been in existence and operation in Ireland, there would not have been a parson found to put several miserable starving peasants to eighteen shillings costs in the tithe court, who were actually living rent free, because, as their landlord had written

to him (Mr. O'C.) a few days since, they were unable to pay rent for some years past. (Hear, hear.) Still they were inexorably to be made to pay eighteen shillings each to the costs, or that sum must be paid for them!

In the evidence given before the parliamentary committee upon the employment of the poor, almost every witness stated that the most powerful check against the demand of excessive tithe, was a threat that the tithe-payer would not be able to employ the poor—found to be a warning, that if the tithe-owner or his agent persevered in demanding it, the plundered tithe-payer would cease to be able to employ the poor. This threat had been found invariably to produce a beneficial effect, in causing the demand to be lowered to something like a reasonable rate of tithe, if anything connected with tithes could be so called. That which made the tithe-owner shrink—the poor-law—made him (Mr. O'Connell) inclined to it; and considering the degraded and neglected condition of the Irish peasant, perhaps a better atonement could not now be made for his past sufferings, than by making him a proprietor of the soil to a certain extent—that is, by giving him a right to be supported out of its produce.

To those sincerely solicitous for Ireland's return to peace and tranquillity, he would recommend the consideration of the poor-laws, because the great cause of Whiteboyism, is the tenacity with which the peasantry adhere to the land. When driven out from their holding, they assemble under the system of Whiteboyism, for the purpose of threatening and deterring persons to succeed them—they are driven to that desperate resource, because in losing their plot of potato ground, they lose their means of subsistence, and no other mode presents itself as likely to avert that terrible calamity, but deterring other persons from offering to the landlord to become tenants; but when they should know that their landlord must support them, if he does not afford them the means of doing so themselves, they would not then have that incentive to lawless assemblages.

He had no inconsiderable stake in the country, and he would of course feel in proportion the effects of the poor-laws; but he should willingly do so if it were in obedience to a system which many thought could not fail to improve the wretched and degraded condition of the peasant, and give him some sort of hold upon the land which he now cultivated almost wholly for others.

It is needless for us to remark that Mr. O'Connell afterwards entirely changed his opinion upon poor-laws.

His revilers—whose name was at all times Legion—and even many, very many friends among those who differed from him in his subsequent opposition to those laws, often twitted him with such declarations as the foregoing, and with his frequent changes of opinion on the subject, on which he undoubtedly did alter his opinion two or three times, according as changing circumstances presented, under different aspects, the expediency of a system of state-relief for the poor.

He never hesitated to allow that he had, from time to time, taken and expressed different views upon this, as upon other important problems of legislation. He ever heartily repudiated that truly most indefensible species of consistency, which would induce a man to persevere in error, through a miserable fear of being charged with instability of mind.

In Ireland there had, of course, been no practical experience of poor-laws, nor were there facilities for profiting of the experience of others. The circulation of parliamentary documents was far more limited even in England than at present, and her statesmen were chary of confessing how much they were themselves dissatisfied with the results hitherto obtained. Again, in the shock and hurry of active agitation—of that singularly active agitation which Mr. O'Connell had been carrying on in moments with difficulty snatched and hardly to be spared from the engrossing requirements of a laborious profession—an agitation, too, necessarily confined in its main direction to *one* object—there had been no learned leisure, no enlarged opportunity for a thorough investigation of the asserted principle of poor-laws, and of such facts as could be got at to illustrate the degree of value attaching to the arguments in support of those laws. A deep-seated suspicion of their unsoundness—a strong distrust of the entire system, no matter how varied in detail—were among Mr. O'Connell's earliest political impressions, and if at times some prospect of special and immediate advantage to the suffering Irish people (ever the main objects of his solicitude) won him to a favouring view of the question, it never was one to which he gave the mature and deliberate sanction of his judgment and reason.

Ultimately a full acquaintance with the entire history and practical results of all the thousand-fold varieties of system and schemes of poor-laws with which England has been afflicted during the last three centuries, settled irreversibly his conviction that poor-laws in any and every shape yet attempted, are "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare!" That they stimulate to pauperism instead of diminishing it, and work evil upon recipients of relief and rate-payers alike, by destroying all independence of spirit, neutralizing all gratitude, and sowing fertile seeds of sulky discontent and bitterness in the former, and annihilating, or grievously obstructing in effect, the blessed impulses of real charity in the latter!

The transient hopes that induced Mr. O'Connell from time to time to lean towards the project of poor-laws for Ireland are sufficiently indicated in his speech just given, and even to those who later entertained them than he did, the bitter practical experience we have at length been made to acquire, will have long ere this manifested their unsubstantiality. The expectations that through the operation of poor-laws, the absentee proprietors of Ireland would be efficiently coerced and punished—that bad landlords, of every description, and tithe-owners, would have a pressure put upon them to mitigate their extortions from the tenantry; and that the poor man would acquire a certain hold upon the soil, have, as every one must confess, been for the larger part sadly disappointed, or where at all realized in appearance, it has been only

"————— Ir. that double sense,
Which keeps the word of promise to the ear,
But breaks it to the hope!"

Absenteeism has not really felt the burden. Bad landlords have been as cruel and unsparing as ever—extermination of tenantry proceeded with unrelenting and accelerated pace, until famine, and the extraordinary emigration of late years, limited its scope of action. And in the detailed working of poor-laws we have witnessed a host of evils, inherent in those laws under any system or modification of them, and therefore inevitable

wherever they exist—such as a niggard, and at times even an inhuman economy on the part of guardians—a bitter thanklessness and recklessness on that of the paupers—a continual recurrence of personal squabbles and theological disputes among the members of the local boards, and endless and pettifogging controversies between them and the commissioners—an outrage of natural ties in the separation of families—a bringing up of a youthful population of both sexes in laborious idleness, and without a link to connect them with society, and evils worse and darker than even these; extending, in several cases, to an almost organized system of female corruption!

From this necessary digression, we now return to the record of Mr. O'Connell's opinions, declarations, and counsellings upon the general crowd of topics occupying the attention of the Catholic Association.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7.

Upon Saturday, the 7th of August, the Association being assembled in its usual weekly meeting,

MR. O'CONNELL, ere entering upon the regular business of the day, gave notice of a motion for the first day of meeting in October—the intervening summer-circuit and legal “long vacation,” usually occasioning an adjournment, at least of metropolitan agitation, during the remainder of July and the two following months—for the appointment of a committee to devise the best means of co-operation between the Irish Catholic Association and the Association established in London for the attainment of Catholic Emancipation and the redress of grievances.

He was exceedingly happy to find, by the newspapers, that Mr. Dogherty's communication on behalf of the Catholics of Manchester, to the effect that the English Catholic Board intended to separate from the other Catholics of England, and from the Irish Association, was totally unfounded. The two Associations had but one and the same object in view—to establish the principle of civil and religious liberty. This can only be effected by a refutation of the atrocious calumnies so industriously and perseveringly circulated to the prejudice of Catholics; and, by informing and enlightening the public mind, until any hostility which now prevails against their claims shall be converted into a conviction of the propriety and justice of admitting them within the pale of the British constitution. If the English Catholic Association adopt the popular course suggested at their late meeting, it will embody all the Catholics of England in the common cause; and the English Association will be a source of power and influence from which material and important advantages, and the general interests, may be

drawn ; and in the progress of their exertions, it will be serviceable to them to have the support and co-operation of the Catholics of Ireland. Both Associations may be able to have before parliament a petition every third day, bringing forward particular calumnies of the Catholics, with their real and genuine opinions upon such subjects, and for which they are daily maligned and misrepresented. They will also have petitions demonstrating the monstrous injustice, and personal and local grievances to which, as Catholics, they are subjected, in violation of the spirit and principles of the British constitution ; and, in every point of view, the co-operation of the Catholics of both countries is most desirable. In conclusion, Mr. O'Connell observed, that it might be found advisable that a delegation from the Irish Catholic Association should proceed to London, in the month of January next, for the purpose of arranging the business to be brought before Parliament, and even then some working lawyers might find time to proceed to London upon the subject.

PARLIAMENTARY AGENT.

MR. CONWAY gave notice of a motion for the first meeting of the Association, to appoint a parliamentary agent to the Association in London.

On Saturday, October 2, Mr. O'Connell returned from the country, and re-appeared in the Association.

A letter was read from the Hon. G. Agar Ellis, inclosing his own and Vicount Clifden's subscriptions of £10 each to the Catholic rent, and thanks were voted.

MR. O'CONNELL read a letter from the Catholic Association at Manchester, stating their having resolved to act in conjunction with the Irish Catholic Association.

The learned gentleman then proceeded to observe that every approach towards a communication with the Associations of the two countries, and for unanimity of proceedings should be met in the most favourable way. He was sorry to see, however, that the English provincial Catholic Associations were not apprised of having committed an illegal act in forming themselves into branch Associations.

The act under which these Associations became unlawful was the act against *Corresponding Societies*. They might, however, obviate this difficulty, and render themselves equally useful, by forming themselves into *independent* societies. To be sure, the act equally applies to the Evangelical and Orange Branch Societies, which have long existed with impunity ; but he was not sure that the Catholic Associations would be so secure. But

the more respect the Catholics show for the laws, both from a principle and motives of prudence, the better; and therefore he moved that he be allowed to reply to the letter of the Manchester Catholic Association, suggesting to them the course to pursue, without any violation of law.—The motion was agreed to.

Mr. O'Connell then gave notice of a motion for a vote of thanks to the London Catholic Association, for their communication approving of the proceedings of the Irish Catholic Association.

THE MURDER BY THE POLICE IN MEATH.

MR. O'CONNELL stated that the committee had been occupied upon this case, which presented instances of the most singular anomaly. The verdict of the coroner's jury declares the unfortunate man was *murdered*; points out the class of persons by whom the deed was committed, and states no justification for the act; and yet not one of the party accused has been apprehended.

Such murders might happen in any country; but it could only happen in Ireland, that *the friends of the deceased should be lodged in jail for his murder*. In another country it would be the parties accused by the verdict.

There was, to be sure, an allegation that the people attempted to disarm the police; and it was not surprising they should, when the *armed* police were slaughtering *the defenceless unoffending people*. It was also stated that the affray had commenced in an unlicensed public-house; which was privileged by the police to defraud the king, but not however without a conscientious attention to their own interests, for they took special care of one portion of the community—themselves. They resorted to the precaution of getting their portion of the unlicensed profits.

The police party had also been distinguished by the use of the most scandalous expressions respecting the religion of the people by whom they were surrounded. Mr. Ford has also learned, that so turbulent and riotous were the people in the neighbourhood of Summer-hill, that the serjeant could absent himself for weeks to superintend the harvest-makers of one of the magistrates.

The committee had highly approved of Mr. Ford's activity and zeal in this case, and they had authorised him to continue the proceedings. In the first place he was directed to issue a civil bill against the gaoler, for having charged fees for furnishing to one of the men committed a copy of the committal. Mr. Ford

had also been commissioned to procure bail for the men in gaol, although their committal was evidently drawn up in as harsh a form as possible ; and if any difficulty should arise upon that point, an application should be made to the judges of the King's Bench, upon which occasion they should not want lawyers.

Indeed, it was possible that the men would not be bailed but by the judges, for, if it had been possible, the *murdered man* himself would have been in gaol ; nay, if the police had committed a robbery on the people, it is probable that the latter would have been imprisoned instead of the offenders.

The committee had resolved that the case was one for the intervention of the Association ; but they recommended, in the first place, that the friends of the deceased should have a memorial presented to the Lord Lieutenant *in-person* by some of the gentry or Catholic clergy of the neighbourhood. Mr. O'Connell concluded, by moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Ford, for his exertions on the present occasion, and requesting him to continue the proceedings. Mr. Ford was, Mr. O'Connell said, at present down at Summer-hill, in consequence of additional information he had received.

The vote was agreed to unanimously.

Upon the motion of Mr. O'Connell, the sub-committee was empowered to conclude a treaty for the large room of Home's Arcade, for the use of the Association.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9.

CATHOLIC FINANCE COMMITTEE.

THE Catholic rent received during the week was announced to be £350 17s. 4½d.

A letter was read from Colonel H. White, M.P., enclosing £5 for the Catholic rent.

MR. O'CONNELL passed a warm eulogium upon him, and his family, for their steady liberality and general services. Every one recollected with what energy Colonel White rebutted the calumnies against the Catholic clergy, when they were accused of having exerted their influence ; because they voted for him, as if the Catholic clergy had not a right to use their elective franchise as well as any other class of her Majesty's subjects. Would it not have been criminal and base in them to return a member like Sir Compton Domville, who would have given his vote for their exclusion from the enjoyment of those constitu-

tional rights and liberties which he would be delegated to protect.

But was there no influence used on the other side by clergymen? Did they not recollect the letter he (Mr. O'C.) read for them at an aggregate meeting, where the writer, a Protestant clergyman, *commanded* a person to vote for Sir Compton Domville, and commanded him too, as being a Protestant, and who should feel the consequences of disobeying the mandate by the loss of some pecuniary benefit which he enjoyed. The learned gentleman concluded some further complimentary observations on Colonel White, by seconding Mr. Mullen's motion for inserting the colonel's letter on the minutes.

CHURCH RATES.

MR. O'CONNELL read the following opinion upon the subject of church rates, in reply to the inquiries of two clergymen who had written to the Association upon the subject:—

“I have considered the questions submitted for my opinion by the Association with all the attention in my power, and am of opinion, that none of the country parishes in Ireland can be assessed in a sum of ten guineas, or five guineas, or in any other sum for keeping a school, or teaching the Protestant children.

“It is true, that Protestant clergymen are bound by oath, *on admission*, to keep an English school in each parish, but that obligation did not induce any expense on the parish whether the school was kept, or not.

“I am also of opinion, that the parish cess for coffins is an illegal assessment in Ireland.

“I am also of opinion, that the charge for a *sextoness* is an illegal charge, and cannot, by law, be rated on the parish.

“I am also of opinion, that the charge of 10*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* mentioned in the case of the parish of Dunshaughlin, levied a second time, for hanging the bell, is a grossly illegal charge, as, of course, is the charge for 6*l.* in that parish, for teaching twelve poor children, where it is stated, that no such school is kept.

“Such a charge as this would (as I have already said) be illegal, even if the school were kept—it is a very gross and scandalous illegality, where there is no school at all.

“I am also of opinion, that the charge for collecting the cess in that parish, is an illegal charge.

“Wherever the applotment is made upon the gross lot of vestry charges, as is usually the case, and that such lot contains any illegal item, there the entire applotment is illegal, and may with safety be resisted by legal means.

“It is true that there is a statute of the 4th of the present king, chap. 86, which very much increases the liability of the poor to vexatious attempts to levy improper church rates, but fortunately the most mischievous sections in that statute are clumsily and untechnically drawn up, so as to neutralize its ill effects in a considerable degree. There are therefore still sufficient legal means to resist the illegal charges above alluded to, according to the circumstances of each particular case.

“DANIEL O’CONNELL.

“Merrion-square, October 9, 1824.”

At this meeting, a gentleman named Candler, who announced himself as an English Protestant Dissenter, addressed the Association. He began by expressing his surprise, after what he had learned of the conduct and views of the Orangemen, that the Catholics did not *hate*, instead of simply contemning them.

He then went on to deprecate the opposition given by Catholics to the establishment of Bible Societies in Ireland, assuring them that their conduct in this respect gave great offence in England.

MR. O’CONNELL, in reply to the last speaker, observed, that if the attempt at proselytism were confined to the cunning and dexterity of the individuals employed, he should not have heeded them; but when the most cruel persecution and aggravated oppression were enforced against the wretched peasantry, who refused to send their children to the Biblical schools, it would have been inhuman and criminal, when an opportunity offered, did he neglect to expose the imposition, or, by publicly challenging its promoters, afford them an opportunity of explaining their views.

But who were the *divines* that the Biblicals employed, and that he (Mr. O’Connell) as being a layman, was charged with having improperly contended against? Why, forsooth, a *man of war*, with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other, who abused Ireland and praised Scotland, and a young *man of fashion*, armed with prejudice and enthusiasm. Was it not meritorious to attempt undeceiving the public, and to expose the chicanery of a system that could make a dupe of such a man as Sergeant Lefroy, who was led to countenance such a transparent job as the expending of no less than £8000 for the printing of Bibles in the Irish language; when it was known to every one that those who were capable of reading the Irish character had ac-

quired that facility by means of the English language; and when it was equally notorious that *not one* of the peasantry could read Irish at all!

With respect to the Dissenting Clergyman who, as they were now informed, had declared from the pulpit that he, (Mr. O'Connell) was doing injury to the Catholic cause, the only remark that appeared to be required was, that in all probability—perhaps in all certainty—the pious gentleman, if he really thought as he said, would have been careful to allow the injurious proceedings to go on, unrebuked and unnoticed!

Mr. O'Connell was followed, upon this occasion, by two men whose honoured names are dear to the grateful memories of Catholic Irishmen. The one was the Rev. Francis Joseph L'Estrange, of the order of the Discalced Carmelite Friars, and John Bric, usually known in the agitation, by the designation then prefixed to barristers' names in ordinary conversation, that of Counsellor Bric.

The Rev. Mr. L'Estrange was the first Catholic clergyman who entered himself as an every-day worker in the struggle for emancipation; and steadily, most heartily, and with constant and manifest benefit to the public cause, did he labour on, until the great object was attained.

Sober-minded, but devoted—indefatigable, but gentle and unassuming; intensely alive to all the wrongs and sufferings of his creed, his race, and his country, yet ever prompt to hold out the hand of friendship and generous forgiveness upon the first symptom of relaxed animosity; kindly, cheerful, and eminently *good* in every way; as a friend, as a patriot, and above all and before all, as a clergyman, he commanded the warmest esteem and regard while living, and is remembered in his grave with the sincerest and most affectionate regret!

The eccentric and not very sapient "Prince Puckler Muskan," chancing, during his rambles through Ireland in the course of the year 1827, to meet the Rev. Mr. L'Estrange at Darrynane Abbey, had his German Protestantism much astonished by the "enlarged and liberal views" expressed by the rev. gentleman, 'although (strange to say) he *persisted in remaining a Catholic!*'

It seemed a miracle to the German mystic, whose own ideas and opinions were of the narrowest and pettiest nature, that a Catholic *could* hold a liberal opinion.

Of John Bric, it may confidently be said, that had he lived, he would have achieved high distinction in the state. He came up from his native country a poor, unfriended, scantily-clothed boy, and with no other assistance than that which his own talent and efficiency obtained for him, while acting as clerk to Mr. O'Connell, contrived to educate himself for the bar, to which he was called about the year 1819.

The most sterling honesty of purpose, energy of will, and soundness of judgment marked his public career; and during the short time that it was permitted to him to labour in the cause of Ireland, he rendered her many services, and gave earnest, alas! fated not to be redeemed—of much more extended and higher powers of utility.

In private, he was one of the most amiable of men, kindly, cheerful, confiding, and generous, loved and respected by all who knew him.

Of the most unhappy, most mournful chance that deprived Ireland of so able, so devoted a son and servant, we cannot bring ourselves to speak. That hideous custom which disgraces civilization and shames our Christianity, never had a nobler victim—never worked a more fell issue!

We give a speech of his, on this occasion, that may serve as a fair specimen of his style and ability.

It was in further answer to Mr. Candler, the English Dissenter, to whom the foregoing

speech was the first reply. Mr. Bric was directly called upon to notice Mr. Candler's speech, as that gentleman, in his strictures on the Catholics for their opposition to the spread of the Bible societies, had specially referred to a then recent encounter between some of the knaves and fanatics, who had made themselves missionaries through Ireland for these societies, and Mr. Bric, supported by some other Catholics.

COUNSELLOR BRIC said, that as one of the fanatical and irreligious lawyers—(a laugh)—to whom the honourable gentleman (Mr. Candler) alluded, and who took an humble part at the meeting at Cork, he hoped he might be allowed to say a few words in his defence.

The honourable gentleman had been pleased to charge them with having been intemperate at that meeting; he was mistaken; there was not a single intemperate word uttered on that occasion by the lawyers; and, as a candid man, he felt himself called upon to say, that the demeanour of their opponents agreed with the respectability of their station in life; although certainly, most unhappy, illiberal, and intemperate expressions escaped from some of them.

For his own part, he beheld the strange exhibition which that meeting presented, with subdued feelings—with feelings softened by sorrow, not excited by anger. He saw there those energies exerted and abused, which, if directed to the real improvement of the people, might achieve great public good—might banish misery and discontent, and foster in their place the hopeful growth of peace and comfort. He attended there without having had the remotest intention of saying a single word.

It was not until he heard Captain Gordon openly avow that proselytism was the object of his mission—it was not until he heard the Hon. Mr. Noel declare from the bench where he stood that the religion of the Catholics was so dark, and their moral condition so degraded, as to fill his mind with the conviction that they were persons who never would behold the light of heaven! (Murmurs.) The expressions, he could assure the meeting, fell from the honourable gentleman; they were uttered at one of the most crowded meetings he ever saw. He (Mr. Bric) reminded Mr. Noel of those words, and it was but due to him to say that he had the manliness not to disavow them. After those declarations had been made, and not till then, he (Mr. Bric) made up his mind to address the meeting; and he would put it to, the candour of the gentleman opposite whether a Catholic, who had any regard at all for his own religion, could have remained silent when he heard its sacred name abused, its teachers censured, and its followers denounced as unworthy of the mercy of that God who is merciful to all.

He (Mr. Bric) took a part in the proceedings; but he hoped he did not imitate the intemperance of the missionaries: he did not abuse any creed; he did not denounce any man because he belonged to a particular religion. Indeed, he could not do so without doing great violence to his feelings—without departing from an opinion which he had ever entertained, that religion is purely a matter of conscience, and that every man, without obstruction or penalty of any kind, has a right to take his own road towards heaven. Of his own religion, he was sorry to say, he did not, perhaps, know as much as he ought; of the religion of others he pretended to know nothing whatever; but this he would say, that as all were heirs to the common frailties of human nature, they were heirs also to the mercy of their common God; and that, as religion was the source of hope and comfort in a life to come, on earth it ought to be the handmaid of charity; the mother and fosterer of the social virtues, instead of being the bitter cause of hate, contention, oppression, and injustice.

These were the sentiments with which he rose to address the meeting at Cork; and he would defy the honourable gentleman to show that he had, for

the two hours that he addressed them, uttered a single word intemperate in any sense, disrespectful to any individual, or offensive to any creed.

The honourable gentleman said, that Catholics, and particularly lawyers, ought not to interfere in those meetings: he hoped, however, that he had heard enough in that room to induce him to alter that opinion. It was true, the missionaries made little or no progress, but the best way to prevent them from making any progress whatever was to meet them on every ground, and to refute them at every point. The honourable gentleman had also said, those who were foremost in promoting missionary labours and Bible societies were foremost also in forwarding the cause of religious freedom. He (Mr. Bric) would be but too happy could he bring his mind to entertain the same notion; if the fact were so, it would be creditable to religion, and hopeful to the claims of a suffering people; but he lamented to say, that the fact was exactly the other way.

In Ireland, Lord Roden was the leader and supporter of Bible societies. His lordship, on a recent occasion, gave an intemperate vote against the Catholics. Another nobleman, Viscount Lorton, the brother of a noble earl who was no Bible distributor, but who was doing the good work of a resident proprietor in the south—he meant the Earl of Kingston—Lord Lorton was also a great and influential leader at the Bible meetings. His lordship, in and out of the legislature, was a firm, decided, he had almost said an angry, opponent of the Catholics.

Those noble persons, and many others, gave a tone to their followers so powerful, that if he were called upon to point out the men who were most hostile to the liberation of Ireland, he feared he would be compelled to name many of the most active Bible distributors. Those pious gentlemen, though extremely anxious to provide for our eternal happiness, are by no means anxious for our temporal comforts. Bless their hearts, they would make us saints in heaven; but they will not allow us to be freemen upon earth. He did not care to repeat a vulgar phrase, which he once heard from a member in the House of Commons, but it was not without force, and it was very applicable: this Bible society is a *humbug*, a very mischievous and solemn humbug, and men ought not to be censured because they oppose it in fair discussion.

The honourable gentleman, however, seemed to think that the Catholics acted extremely wrong in opposing the measures of that society; and he threatened them with the hostility of that great and powerful body to which he belongs—the Dissenters of England. He (Mr. Bric) was not ignorant of the power of that body, of their great wealth, their intelligence, and their parliamentary influence, and, certainly, he would look upon it as one of the worst signs of the times, if such a body as the Dissenters could lend their aid to the bigots of their own country, and the Orangemen of this, in order to crush the hopes of an aggrieved nation, merely because certain individuals opposed the objects of the Bible Society, composed, as that society is, of men in whom they have no confidence, for whom they have no affection; of men who have avowed intolerant principles, and whose hostility towards them stands recorded on the votes of the legislature.

He (Mr. Bric) should rather hope that the Dissenters of England would pass by this petty warfare, and that they would take a more enlarged and a more generous view of the condition of Ireland. Having suffered themselves under the scourging rod of religious oppression, the Dissenters ought, and he hoped they did, feel a kindly sympathy towards those who were denied the liberty of conscience. They were men who always claimed that liberty—whose notions on civil government were bold and enlarged. Could he suppose that for a trifling, or almost for any cause, they could be brought to combine with the enemies of

religious freedom, in order to keep alive that state of discontent and misfortune in which Ireland was plunged, he could only lament the perversion of their minds, and the loss of those high-minded principles which once made the Dissenters respectable in the eyes of all mankind.

As for the rest—the energies of this country—the union which happily prevailed amongst the Catholic body—the noble spirit by which they were animated—and, above all, the honest cause for which they suffered, put them before the legislature in an attitude too grand and too imposing to be affected by the hostility of the Dissenters, and all their boasted influence in that house, where, after all, the Catholic question must be ultimately decided. The Dissenters might degrade themselves—they might come down from that lofty elevation upon which they wished to place their character; but they were mistaken if they thought that they could trample with impunity on the Catholics of Ireland. He hoped that when the hon. gentleman returned to his countrymen, that he would be able to show them that they would best consult their own dignity and honour, as well as the general good of the empire: not by siding with the old oppressors of the Irish people, but by walking with the sufferers in trial and in danger, and in throwing over their cause the shield of their protection, and the honourable influence of their power.

The Dissenters were an interesting and powerful part of the people of England—of that great people amongst whom he had lived for some years, amongst whom, he was proud to think, he had many friends—there were, to be sure, many bigots in England; but they were so, not from feeling—they were bigoted because they were worse than ignorant of the state of Ireland.

It had been, he might say, for ages the degraded task of mercenary and hostile writers to calumniate the Irish people—to conceal their virtues, to exaggerate their faults, and to misrepresent their motives. These writers succeeded in creating a powerful prejudice in the English mind; but that prejudice was disappearing fast, and it would be driven, he had no doubt, with accelerated motion from a country remarkable for the love of inquiry, the love of justice, and the love of truth. He hoped the honourable gentleman would exert himself to purge the mind of his country from that baleful prejudice, and he was sure that he only expressed the sentiment of every man who heard him, when he gave credit to the honourable gentleman for the sincerity of his opinions, and for the decided, manly, and able manner in which he expressed them. (Applause.)

The Rev. Mr. L'ESTRANGE observed, that the origin of his learned friend's having interfered upon the occasion alluded to was, that he (Mr. L'Estrange) and two other clergymen were present at one of those Biblical meetings in Cork, when a report was read, and the question put that it be received.

Amongst other questionable passages in the report, it stated that no attempts of proselytism had been made by the society, upon which the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, a Catholic clergyman, rose and proposed to prove upon oath, which he was ready to make before Lord Carberry, a magistrate then present, that in several schools which he named the system of proselytism had been attempted, both directly and indirectly. This led to a long discussion; and, finally, the Catholic clergyman quitted the room, after protesting against the proceedings, as they were not allowed to proceed in their observations, not having been any of those appointed by the committee to address the meeting. Upon the next meeting of the Biblicals, his learned friends, whose abilities were sure to command attention, took care to be present and state their opinions.

On the same day, Mr. O'Connell, in alluding to the Catholic petition said, that several members of parliament, who called

themselves the friends of the Catholics, had thrown out their feelers and suggested that the Catholics should not petition for Emancipation during the approaching parliamentary session.

When the advice was conveyed to him he gave his immediate and humble, but most decided negative; and of so much importance did he consider it, that the earliest attention of the legislature should be called to the subject, that he intended to move them to provide for having the general petition for Emancipation in the hands of Sir Francis Burdett, for presentation before the address should be moved to the crown, in order that ministers should have occasion to notice it in the address.

It was known that the king was personally favourable to the measure. Lord Liverpool's opposition had been considerably softened down, and it was possible that even Lord Chancellor Eldon, who doubts upon every subject but Catholic Emancipation, might at last be brought to doubt the utility and prudence of opposing the Catholic claims any longer. Or, should Mr. Canning unite with the Marquis of Lansdowne in forming a cabinet (which was not at all unlikely), there could then be no possible difficulty in overcoming the scruples of the trifling majority who continue to exclude their fellow-subjects from the bosom of the constitution.

Therefore, so far from relinquishing the opportunity of petitioning, he would very strongly recommend that beside the general petition, they should take measures to have one presented every week, upon some particular grievance.

On Saturday, October 16, the Finance Committee commenced their sittings at Home's Royal Arcade, and after they had concluded their preliminary arrangements, the Association met. *

A letter was read from Colonel Talbot, M.P., the late Lord Talbot de Malahide, colleague of Colonel White, expressing his concurrence with the objects and conduct of the Association, and enclosing his subscription of £10.

MR. O'CONNELL said, that there was a duty imposed upon the Catholic Association to express in a very marked manner their gratitude to Colonel Talbot, for the letter just read; and, therefore he would move that the chairman do transmit to Colonel Talbot, accompanied by a most respectful letter, the resolution expressive of the gratitude, confidence, and affection of the Catholics towards him.

He would be ashamed of the Catholics, if it were necessary to say much in support of the motion for inserting Colonel Talbot's letter upon the minutes. He most fully concurred in the eulogium pronounced by Mr. Kirwan upon the respectable cha-

racter who was the subject of it. The senate had not an honest man, nor society a purer gentleman—for many years Colonel Talbot was the representative of the people, and never did he give a vote but for the people's good. When men of larger fortunes discounted their notes for titles and patronage, he was the unwearied advocate and watchful guardian of his country's independence, and it was not his fault that she is now—a petty province.

He would speak of one of Ireland's recreant sons as his conduct merited, although he had hurried himself beyond the reach of human animadversion. Were it permitted to stamp upon the grave of an enemy, Castlereagh's should be distinguished by emblems of infamy and disgrace. He lavished mitres, judges' robes, titles, and pensions in the purchase of his country's independence, at a moment when she was weakened and distracted by the strife of factions. His (Mr. O'Connell's) gratitude to Colonel Talbot would not be the less, because his intrepid and patriotic efforts in that day of national disaster were unsuccessful.

It was of no small consequence that Colonel Talbot was, besides being the friend of civil and religious liberty, favourable to parliamentary reform, without which the progress of parliamentary liberality will be tedious. It was a delightful thing to see the county of Dublin so faithfully represented; no county was more so, and while the representatives were true to the people, the people would be steadfast and faithful to them. There were no grounds for either of their representatives being opposed to each other on any future election. They had, as they merited, the confidence of the people; and there could be no doubt, but that both would be again returned to advocate the liberties and rights of the people.

A letter was also read from Lord Viscount Gormanstown, to a similar effect as that of Colonel Talbot.

MR. O'CONNELL said, that in rising to move for the insertion of Lord Gormanstown's letter upon the minutes, he did so with more pleasure than ever he felt in proposing any resolution to the Association.

It was a most cheering and hopeful circumstance to see the Catholic nobility taking away from Catholic enemies, so imposing a reproach on their proceedings, as a disunion or division of sentiment amongst themselves, respecting the measures to be adopted for obtaining emancipation. That such feeling no longer exists

is now manifest—the numerous and respectable subscribers to the Catholic rent is demonstrative proof, that they go to parliament speaking with the unanimous voice of the people.

There is no class of Catholics, continued the learned gentleman, who labour under the same disabilities, who suffer the same humbling deprivations of civil rights, as the Catholic peer. Any other Catholic is eligible to exercise his privilege of freeholder and freeman. The Catholic peer, owing to his nominal rank, is deprived of the advantage of voting for a representative peer, and this exclusion is the more vexatious when it is recollected, that the Catholic nobility are the representatives of the ancient and illustrious peerage, and in the present instance, Lord Gormanstown is the premier Viscount of Ireland. His patent of creation, bearing date 1457, and the antiquity of his family are recorded with credit and renown in the page of history. From what cause was such a nobleman shut out from the constitution and deprived of his natural rights? Because he adhered to the religion which his ancestors professed when he obtained his creation of nobility.

The glory and boast of Britons is their constitution, and that constitution, they should recollect, was obtained by Catholics. If Lord Gormanstown, or his ancestors, did not change their religion because other lords chose to do so, was it not cruel to exclude him from a participation in the glorious charter, because he continued faithful to the religion of those who procured and established that bulwark of civil rights? Those who vaunt most of British liberty and rights, violate their most essential principle in opposing the admission of a Catholic peer to the benefits of the British constitution.

Mr. O'Connell in conclusion again congratulated the Association upon this eminent proof of a Catholic unanimity.

The motion passed unanimously.

Mr. O'Connell subsequently moved that the committee which had been appointed to prepare the drafts of several petitions for presentation to parliament, should have leave to continue its sittings, and report upon the next day of meeting.

In congratulating the Association, said the learned gentleman, upon its resuming this day its all-important labours, in the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty, I trust I shall be believed in saying that there is no over-weening feeling of paltry vanity in the fervour by which I am impelled to address you.

I think the country should rejoice in the establishment of a constitutional body, seeking redress from legislative oppression

by constitutional means, and determined not to violate any principle of law. They should rejoice in having the advantage and example of a body capable and anxious of instructing others, and of warning them of the dangers and consequences of being seduced into opposite courses.

The objects we have in view are open and undisguised. We pray and protest against exclusion from civil rights. We desire no more than an equal admission. If any amongst us had desired that the Catholics should be placed in a situation of superiority over his Protestant brethren and countrymen, I should be the first to oppose so monstrous a proposition. (Hear.)

We desire or seek no pre-eminence, we ask but to be put upon an equal footing, to stand as men and brothers on the same platform with them, not below them. Our demand is founded upon the very principle of Protestantism, which claims for every man the right of worshipping his Creator according to his conscience; but with this necessary corollary, that a man may denominate himself a Christian, but ceases to possess the essence of Christianity when he wants charity, or that first maxim of religion, if he does not concede to others that which he wishes to have done for himself.

We shall go before Parliament speaking with the voice of an oppressed but not a subdued nation; if they reject our earnest and well-founded application, then may we exclaim, what a mockery of justice and legislation!

The Catholics of Ireland found their claims upon a sacred, solemn treaty. We took, unfortunately, the side of legitimacy—we combated for that fundamental principle of the Holy Alliance—that he who is a king by descent, when once king, can never be deposed. We differ from them at present, and we are punished for maintaining opinions then, which all the sovereigns of Europe are leagued to support. Now, though the monarch whom, on the principle of legitimacy, we supported, fled from the fight, and sought a disgraceful security; we continued to fight his cause at our own hazard and expense, till the treaty of Limerick. That treaty was but verbally concluded, when a powerful French force arrived in the field; but the Irish had pledged themselves to the treaty; they rejected the formidable assistance of their allies, and they confirmed the treaty with King William.

Let me ask, how was the treaty observed by the other side?—Why, that I am a degraded alien in my native land, is proof of how it was fulfilled.—(Hear, hear, and applause.) The treaty stipu-

lated, that the Catholics were to take no other oath than that of allegiance, and that nothing affecting their religious tenets should be mixed up in any oath to be taken by Catholics. The moment, however, that Marlborough's victories gave additional strength to England, she proceeded to pass that penal code which a French writer so truly states should have been written in blood—(hear)—and is it that nations have statutes of limitation against retribution for national injustice, or that England must continue to be unjust because she had committed a first injustice? The injustice of nations, however, was like the injustice of individuals; long continuance gave it no sanction; and by no process could it be voted into equity.

Upon the violation of the Treaty of Limerick we found our claims for justice; and if we fail, we shall not blame ourselves for supineness, nor for an absence of the high spirit of freemen.

He had now to turn to a more grateful subject. He congratulated them on perfect unity among themselves. It is impossible they should not succeed. The Catholic clergy were all with them—the Catholic prelates approved of their proceedings—and the archbishops added their sanction; the Catholic aristocracy too were heartily joining them; so that laymen and ecclesiastics were both heart and hand in their favour. In fact, he had never seen matters so auspicious before. The rent was prosperous and triumphant; it had gone on progressively increasing from £100 per week to a regular £300. (Cheers.) First it was £100, then £150, next £180, then £230, and now as sure as the Saturday came it was £300. This week it amounted, from donations received since the meeting of the finance committee, to £350; yet, not one-fiftieth of the country had been collected. (Reiterated cheers.)

The Catholic aristocracy, as he had said, had sent in their adhesion. Some of the oldest, perhaps the very oldest, nobility of the land were to be found amongst that aristocracy; they had retained their honours and their characters unsullied, while they preserved the faith of their fathers inviolate. Viscount Gormanstown, whose letter they had just heard read, was the oldest viscount in the country; his patent of nobility was dated so far back as 1430; his good example would be followed by others of the body. Lord Kenmare, it was more than probable, would send in his subscription in the course of the week; and he (Mr. O'Connell) had good reason to know, that his brother, the Honourable Captain Browne, had already determined to send donation. (Cheers.) And the English Catholics also had declared their adhesion. In fact, he (Mr. O'Connell) never per-

ceived so ready an unanimity in the Catholic body. Formerly there was always somebody anxious to impeach their motives, or to find fault with some petty point of detail, but now all was unanimity.

Why had Ireland continued so degraded and so miserably poor throughout centuries? Because of the unnatural and fatal divisions amongst her children. Why have all her efforts hitherto been paralysed? Because even amongst those who ought most to have clung together, dissensions and miserable differences had prevailed. But, thank Heaven, all that is passing away. I am bound to say—and I say it with delight—that within my memory, or since I first embarked upon the sea of her distracted and stormy politics, now some twenty-four years ago, I never knew anything like the unanimity among the people of Ireland until the present moment. There were always some who, while others were ready to work, and did work, occupied themselves in impeaching the latter's motives, and assailing their characters. But now here we are presenting to our enemies the impenetrable front of unanimity and determination. (Great applause.)

No such auspicious moment have I ever read of in Irish history since the planting of the first British standard—that birthday of Ireland's misery and degradation. Now shall our application to the legislature be conveyed in a voice of thunder, whose roaring will force attention when asking for the rights of men and privileges of Christians. Sir, our pecuniary resources are of immense and powerful advantage in support of our struggle; because hitherto one of the arguments of our enemies was that the peasantry of Ireland were indifferent to Catholic Emancipation; and it was even stated in an official report of the day, that an United Irishman declared upon his examination—"that the people did not care the value of the ink in his pen" for Catholic Emancipation. But, Sir, that calumny on Ireland is triumphantly refuted by the pile of letters announcing the adoption of the Catholic rent, enthusiastically and cheerfully subscribed to by the poorest and most miserable peasantry in the world.

Such trash shall not, Sir, deter us from forcing our claims upon those who can and will grant them—they shall not enjoy that short-lived tranquillity obtained at the sacrifice of a people's rights for a momentary expediency—we shall never cease petitioning, nor shall a week pass that our case shall not come before them in some shape, until justice is obtained. (Cheers.)

Then, Sir, we have also in support of our righteous cause a considerable portion of the Irish press. We have the aid of that excellent paper, *The Dublin Evening Post*, and all the rest of the respectable press of Ireland in our favour, and as for such as are opposed to us, we have not much to dread from their hostility, whose sole claim upon public attention is, the effrontery and hardihood with which they put forth the most abominable falsehoods.

In England the press is disgracefully torpid, and it is certainly singular that on looking into all English newspapers, we find some notice of every thing that occurs, and many others that never happen. We see nothing too petty or too ridiculous for minute detail—they spread out a boxing match between two blackguards—they devote columns to a miserable police case—they debate upon a race between two donkeys—you have some notice of every thing, save one alone. Here we are collecting thousands of pounds, and unless an Englishman of a rainy day chooses to take up an Irish paper, he knows nothing of how we are disposing of this money. I have often considered upon this determined silence of the English press, and cannot account for it in any other way, than that at the commencement of our career we stated, that it would be wise to pay for the insertion of certain articles in the London papers, and perhaps, like the Dutch auctioneer, who holds his tongue to be paid for speaking, so the prospect of payment may have induced the London press to be silent until the money is forthcoming.

But, Sir, the importance of our proceedings and the interest which the world now takes in our cause, will force the subject upon that base press, and in obedience to the wishes of their readers, they must notice our proceedings.

Deeply, indeed, have the Catholics to regret the death of Mr. Perry, the late proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*. If that gentleman were alive, or that a genius or spirit or principle like his prevailed in the direction of such a paper as the *Morning Chronicle* was, there would not have been such a paltry neglect of Irish affairs. But there is a portion of the English press that agrees with me, and I am proud to say I agree with it, and I offer the homage of admiration to one of the most powerful and most calumniated writers that ever lived. Had Cobbett been inclined to sell his services, is it too much to say that when the most disgusting carrion has been purchased in the market of corruption, what would they not have given for a writer like Cobbett?

In this celebrated and gifted journalist we have a most powerful and gifted advocate, and for no other reason under heaven than because his manly and transcendent intellect is convinced of the necessity of doing justice to Ireland. When his principles refused yielding to the most alluring temptations, his conscience and his understanding submit to conviction, and what he would not do for lucre, he undertakes for justice, and then it is needless to add that he always triumphs. Although we may be kept out of our parliament ourselves, let us hope that we shall have the happiness of seeing him in it.

The next topic, Sir, that I shall call your attention to is, the prospect of our succeeding. The condition of the Irish Catholics has forced itself upon the attention of the sovereigns of Europe. The present excellent gentleman who fills the throne of France, and a better man cannot be found, has declared himself indignant at our continued degradation. I have the best authority for saying so—the testimony of those who had served his family in the army, and to whom I have the honour of being nearly related. He has directly sanctioned, since his accession to the throne, the insertion in the French newspapers of various excellent articles upon the state of Ireland.

There had lately appeared in *The Etoile* an article which would resound from Missolonghi, the last refuge of the oppressed and patriot Greeks—(and oh! shame on England, and on the foreign policy of Mr. Canning, for she was the first openly to fly in the face of every thing sacred and noble, and to declare openly against them)—to the banks of the Missouri, where freedom had found her home. Against this article, the English press had, as usual, railed. But had they answered it? No. It was, however, only one of a series—and it was the duty of our own press to see that these articles should be diffused extensively over the world.

The press of France had challenged the press of England to the proof, but as yet that challenge had been unaccepted. *The Etoile* had proved that the English Dissenters, one-third of the population, were inadmissible by law to all offices of trust and power, while it demonstrated that in France the Dissenters from the Catholic Church, who did not amount to one-fiftieth part of the population, were not only tolerated but admissible to all offices of trust and power, were not only admissible but actually admitted. (Cheers.)

In Catholic France Protestants might be counsellors of state, king's ministers, generals in the army, or enjoy any office how

high or dignified soever, while in Protestant England the great majority of the people were unjustly and ungenerously excluded. But the character of England, like her credit, had been extended beyond her capital, and if she did not pay the great debt of liberality which she was in arrear, on demand, both credit and capital might be extinguished for ever. (Loud applause.)

Look at the numbers of the Catholics. In Ireland the Church of England was contemptible as compared with them in point of numbers. They exceeded the Presbyterians in a sixfold degree. They were three times as numerous as the various classes of Methodists, and fifty or sixty times as numerous as the Quakers. And yet this, the most numerous religious persuasion among the British subjects in Ireland, are excluded from the British constitution !

Let the intolerants and exclusionists of England look for an example of liberality in Catholic states and governments, where Protestants are not alone eligible, but fill offices of honourable trust and emolument. Spain and Portugal cannot be quoted as exceptions, because Protestantism does not exist at all there ; and let it be recollected that the Catholic state of Maryland was the first government that proclaimed full and perfect toleration of religious principles, and the eligibility of Protestants to participate in all offices of the state ; and it will be said that in England alone injustice is to reign perpetual !

I cannot, Sir, conceal from myself the pleasing anticipation and cheering hope to be derived from the known feelings and principles of the present Irish government. The pen and the tongue of Wellesley have enlightened the world through the medium of matchless eloquence in our cause, and he would have wielded the sword with equal readiness and success, were it necessary, in the cause of liberality and justice. When we have seen that every corner of Europe has been distinguished by some remarkable event produced by his splendid success as a statesman ; and when we find that, in the evening of his life, he comes to devote the benefit of personal influence, and the advantage of successful experience to the amelioration of his native country, it not only encourages our hopes, but imposes a duty upon us to assist in supporting that government in whose administration we have every just confidence. It is also of no small consequence to have in the Attorney-General of the day, a decided advocate of such tried fidelity and matchless powers. It is cheering that the sound of Attorney-General in Ireland no longer creates apprehension in the minds of those who take a concern

in her interests, and that a printer shall no longer tremble when he sells a newspaper, lest legal ingenuity and pliant juries should discover some constructive libel.

Neither should the Catholics be disheartened because the fatal policy still exists of introducing into the formation of an Irish government a species of tessellated pavement, composed of orange, white, and black. I have no doubt that Mr. Goulburn is more the victim of prejudice than illiberal by tuition. But if otherwise, what did his opposition avail when opposed to the first talents in the world? I never understood that his were of a higher order than his political principles.

There is also much to cheer us in England. Mr. Canning did not certainly come to Ireland for the pleasure of the prospect, or the amusement of a voyage in a steam-packet. Whatever may have been his object, it is certain he can rely upon his own strength, aided by such colleagues as Robinson and Huskinson, who are our decided friends, to carry his views into execution; and I cannot forget that we have a prospect of Mr. Peel's hostility being considerably mitigated. He proposed in last session a bill that when carried into effect will give him a claim to the title of benefactor of Ireland. It is a bill framed for the purpose of giving justice to the Catholics in civil cases, at least when tried by juries; and therefore when he is manifesting a disposition of that kind, it is but fair to hope for better things from him.

Then if we look to the Lords, the mitigated tone of Lord Liverpool's opposition and his increasing anxiety to advance the Catholic Relief Bills of last sessions, and his having succeeded in carrying one of them, may be evidence of his disposition, if not to go the whole way, at least not to offer any effectual opposition. Lord Eldon, to be sure, is the decided enemy of the Catholics, because his party desires it, but he even would not be at a loss for an excuse to vote for emancipation.

I believe, Sir, I have now adduced reasonable grounds for hope for our future success, and with the attention of Europe called to our condition, and the contrast between the liberality of Protestant and Catholic governments so forcibly shown, is England, after all, so secure that she can fearlessly continue to be unjust to Ireland? The moment might arrive when those institutions, and that form of government which we venerate, would be assailed in a contest between the oppressors and the oppressed, and the ministry of England would not be statesmen if they did not see and guard against such a fatality; let them do away with that code by which Catholics are slaves to Orange despotism, and the

resources of the country would increase with its tranquillity, by which the expense of a standing army of 30,000 would be saved to the country ; and what would 100,000 troops avail in Ireland if there was a domestic inclination to favour a foreign power? Let the laws of England be framed with a parental feeling towards Ireland, and she will manifest her gratitude by the return of filial affection, and her attachment to the throne. [Here there was an interruption for some time, in consequence of the vehement and animated cheers of the meeting.] Yes, Sir, it delights my heart to perceive that the feeling is still as ardent for our Sovereign, as when, unprotected by bayonets, he threw himself upon the loyalty and attachment of Irishmen, at a moment when dissatisfaction reigned in England. He, unattended by an array of red coats, was not mistaken in trusting to the fidelity of those who could scarcely afford to be clad in frieze jackets in Ireland. (Loud cheers.) He made the noble experiment, and the result convinced ministers that his Majesty knew his Irish people.

It now, Sir, remains for us to hope that, with the aid of our considerable pecuniary resources, the surpassing advantage of entire unanimity amongst ourselves, the interest our case has excited in England, and amongst the people of Europe ; the support which the justice of our claims has at last obtained for us in both houses of parliament, besides the commanding influence of the press ; and though last, still highest in order, the personal favour and good wishes of our gracious sovereign ; our firmness being equal to our moderation, and both being combined in a constitutional exertion for the single and most righteous object of unfettering the worship of the Deity—it is impossible, Sir, but that we must succeed ! (Great cheering.)

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27.

CHURCH RATES.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to present the draft of a petition to parliament, on church rates, and addressing the meeting, said, that in order to demonstrate that the meetings of the Association were under no pretence, but that of obtaining relief from penal grievances, through the intervention of parliamentary relief

they had proposed the drafts of several petitions upon Catholic grievances.

The first petition he would submit to the consideration of the meeting was one of considerable interest to the country parts of Ireland. Although the mischiefs complained of are not in their nature calculated to make an impression in Dublin, Dublin had its own local grievances, which should not be left untold. Nothing more naturally creates dissatisfaction (Mr. O'Connell observed), in the minds of the Irish peasantry, than the mode of collecting church rates, and the purposes to which those rates are applied.

The origin of the claim for church rates it is necessary to trace in its progress, in order to know where to apply the remedy sought for. The origin of building churches hides itself in the antiquity of the Christian religion, and it is only to the disposition of ecclesiastical revenues, or the spirit of charity, that the building of those splendid monuments of ancient piety, which, even in their ruins, are the most noble ornaments of the country, can be traced. After having been built, however, they were repaired and supported from a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues; for bishops, by the old law, were bound to apply one-fourth of their revenues to that purpose, and rectors took their tithes under the same obligation; though, in our times, they are taken solely for the benefit of the person, who throws the entire expense of building and repairing upon the impoverished peasant.

It has long been the practice, particularly with English intererants, to abuse the ancient faith of the people of Ireland; but he would ask, was there any principle of that faith which countenanced, in spirit or practice, the monopolising the entire of the ecclesiastical revenues, and left the building, repairs, and support of the church to be borne by the poor? Was not the present appropriation of tithes a practical contrast of both the liberality and charity of each. In England, however, the parishioners were not bound by law to build the churches, though they are to repair them.

But it occurred that in the progress of clerical usurpation, the building of churches was imposed on the laity for some time in England until, in the reign of King William, as reported in 1st Raymond, 512, the right of assessing the parish for building was contested, and it was decided that the building of churches was not a parochial charge—and from that day to the present it never was attempted in that country. The English are therefore exempted

from that grievance, which it becomes necessary for the Catholic people of Ireland to appeal against.

Whenever the parishioners of an English parish desire to build a church, they apply to parliament for a grant for that purpose, by which their immediate object is not only attained, but the neighbourhood benefited by the expenditure of so much public money. But in Ireland the people have none of those advantages, except supplying the money to gratify an interested spirit of devotion, which expends a portion of their cruelly-extorted means in erecting edifices the most ludicrous and contemptible—particularly those which have been got up by the late parliamentary grants, and which resemble more a sentry-box with a pig-sty annexed, rather than an edifice for public worship. It has been frequently observed by the well-protected, well-fed Englishman, that the Irish are of a turbulent disposition. But he (Mr. O'C.) would ask their English censors what they would do, if, instead of being exempt from the charge for building churches, they were liable at the caprice of a very few individuals to build churches at an enormous rate, not for their own worship, but for that of two or three families—or persons of a dissenting sect in their parishes, and afterwards be heavily assessed, and subject to vexatious imposition to keep them in repair? Would *their* turbulence be confined to manifesting their disapprobation of the injustice? (Hear, hear.)

The first step in Ireland towards the present system of church-rates was rather a moderate one. It was the Act of the 2nd Geo. I. chap. 14, now about one hundred and ten years old. By that act the lord lieutenant and privy council, consisting of at least six members, were empowered, on the petition of any parish, to authorise the levying of a sufficient sum from off that parish for the building of a church in such parish; and the lord lieutenant and privy council were also authorised to hear evidence into the expediency of such a measure, if such a precaution were represented as necessary. Now there was nothing objectionable in that enactment, nor would the Catholics petition against such a reasonable provision.

The next legislative measure upon this subject was the 11th Geo. I. chap. 6, an amendment to the act last cited, which altered the requisition from the *parish* to that of *the majority of the Protestants*, so that, by this law, if (as was the case in some parishes he knew) there were five Protestants in the parish, and three of them conspired to distress and harass their neighbours, they were legally authorised to do so; however, that hardship

was still considerably mitigated by the right of appealing to the lord lieutenant and privy council.

In the same spirit of growing intolerance, the 12 Geo. I. was enacted, leaving Catholics the right at common law of appealing to the superior tribunals against any informality or illegality of the assessments for repairing, but depriving them of the right of voting at vestries for the repairs of churches. Upon this point a very general mistake prevailed as to Catholics being obliged to withdraw from vestries during the discussion upon the subject of repairs; they have not only a right to attend, but to speak upon the subject, but not, however, to rate.

The 11 Geo. III. chap. 16, allowed bishops to divide parishes for the better convenience of divine worship; but that scarcely did anything. However, in the melancholy year when the independence of Ireland was extinguished by Castlereagh, something in the manner that he extinguished himself (hisses from outside the bar,)—an act was passed, which Mr. ex-Judge Daly had the reputation of drawing, and he (Mr. O'C.) verily believed that learned personage was entitled to the reputation, for a more clumsy act of parliament was never printed—it was from the pen of a lawyer who, in the days of Ireland's disaster having no business, got a seat in parliament, and after the Union was made a judge. (Hear.)

The intention of the framer of this bill was to give the same power for building churches as was already possessed for repairing them, but owing to the looseness and clumsiness of the wording of the act, it was found inefficient for the purposes for which it was intended. It was truly melancholy to think how the law was changed since the Union; indeed it was rather natural to expect that in a foreign senate neither our rights would be fairly discussed, nor our interests heeded. And we had the authority of Mr. Peel for stating, that during nineteen years the most vital questions on Irish affairs were discussed in such thin houses, that if the members were counted during the progress of business, they must have almost uniformly adjourned for want of a sufficient number. Two acts were passed which materially altered the law upon the subject of church-rates—the 48 and 49 Geo. III.; and we would have thought there had been abundance of legislation for the purposes of oppression, but Mr. Goulburn was not, however, of that opinion, for he brought in an act by which, if two Protestants in a parish ask for a church, the miserable peasantry, notwithstanding the monstrous injustice of

the principles and effects of such a measure, must contribute towards the gratification of this pious pair !

Is it not an outrageous violation of national rights that the property and interests of the people of Ireland are disposed of by the imperial legislature upon such paltry pretexts, and so trivial a foundation ; and that it should meantime be not permitted to them to make the slightest shadow of effectual resistance to what is nothing less than a combination of open robbery with insult !

Until lately matters were not so bad, for although the magistrate had the power of issuing a warrant for the amount of church-rates ; yet there was the consolation of an appeal to the higher tribunals ; but Mr. Goulbourn determined to deprive the Irish of this last refuge against local oppression or clerical rapacity, and by this act one magistrate is empowered to decide and act upon the question of church-rates.

To be sure there is an appeal to the Ecclesiastical Court, but what business would he have in such a court, upon such a business. There is a very familiar saying, that it is like going to law with a certain gentleman, and holding the court in a certain very warm place—(laughter)—and that adage might with great truth be applied to such a case, referred to the most impartial, and most learned of all arbitrators—country magistrates—(laughter). Then let the English freeman turn up the white of his pious eyes, and exclaim with indignation against the Irish bondsman, followed with a law which embodies such injustice, as makes it impossible not to resist its oppressive gallings. Nay will the passive Englishman believe, that so determined was Mr. Goulburn not to satiate the Irish with too much justice, knowing how unaccustomed they were to such wholesome fare, that the church-rates are declared by his bill to be assessable, notwithstanding all informalities, omissions, or defects in the mode of assessment (hear, hear).

Then who will say the Irish people are not the most patient and forbearing that ever lived, when such a monstrous law has been suffered to endure for any time ?

The present petition prays nothing more than to have the law of church-rates reduced to the same footing as it is in England ; they claim no exception ; although they are the great majority paying for the accommodation of the few, yet they are content to pay for Protestant churches, upon the same principle, and upon the same law as Protestants themselves.

Mr. O'Connell proceeded to read the petition, which excited very general approbation, and was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. Conway called the attention of the Association to a fact that had recently come to his knowledge, and of which there could be no doubt whatever.

A very snug trade had grown up between London and Dublin booksellers, for which the state, as it would appear, had to furnish the capital. The books and bibles which the Kildare Place Society had published here, and held up for sale in Ireland for twopence and fourpence a piece, were sent in considerable quantities to London, and there sold at one shilling and sixpence a piece.

Mr. O'Connell remarked that that was one way of accounting for the disposition of the £10,000 grant, and that it was a matter which should be laid before parliament.

Here a very considerable interruption of the business occurred, owing to the irruption before alluded to, of the College boys, who came determined to disturb, and, if possible, entirely upset the new popular organization. After a struggle, however, they found they were over-matched, and were compelled to make a hasty retreat in disorder. The people wanted to follow and punish them, but Mr. O'Connell interposed to prevent it, and order was restored again.

MR. FINLAY

MR. O'CONNELL read a petition on church rates, which was received with general approbation. He said it was the production of a Protestant who never yet refused to do a kindness to his Catholic countrymen, or aid them in pursuit of justice.

From his extensive knowledge of the subject of parish cess, Mr. Finlay was applied to draw up the petition on church rates, and it could not have been committed to an honest man, or one of greater industry or more powerful talents. Although Mr. Finlay came to his profession with no very considerable portion of this world's means, he had uniformly evinced a liberality of conduct and independence of spirit which would have reflected the highest credit on the possessor of a large fortune. It had been his (Mr. O'C.'s) lot to witness in the hall of the Four Courts the whole of the bar professing to repudiate bigotry, and to scorn promotion if only to be got by adopting the principles of intolerance, or accommodating their conduct to the rules of ministerial subserviency. Many had however climbed to importance, not by merit, but by that road which they found the readiest; and during that period of persecution when Lord Manners and Mr. Saurin had employed the privileges and terrors of office for the extermination of liberality among the bar, John Finlay retained an untainted principle and independent spirit, and he has now advanced to such a lucrative practice as his professional talents and signal private worth so justly merit.

Mr. O'Connell then moved the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Finlay which was carried with several repeated rounds of applause.

CATHOLIC AGENT.

MR. O'CONNELL said that there were many circumstances to cause their attention to be drawn to the state of the Catholic question in England.

They had to contend with an adverse press in that country ; but the Catholic Association had now assumed such an attitude, that there was every reason to expect some proceeding in their favour during the next session of parliament.

The Association had determined to lay their supplications before their most gracious sovereign, previous to presenting their petition to parliament. But there still remained a great deal to be done in disabusing the English mind from the calumnies which prejudice, and the arts of insidious enemies had implanted—to proclaim, and make known the real tenets of the Catholics—their principles, and their expectations. He (Mr. O'C.) sincerely believed that the opposition of the generality of Englishmen to the Catholic claims was founded on honest opposition, because founded in prejudice—on honest principles, and what they conceived to be proper motives. It would, therefore, be an object with the Catholics to have a superintending genius at the press, that would meet every calumny the moment it appeared, or was uttered, by a prompt, decided avowal of the genuine principles of Catholicism, and procure conviction by truth and reason.

Agitator, as he (Mr. O'C.) was termed, he did not wish for Catholic Emancipation by other means—he wished for Catholic freedom by Protestant confidence—and, by showing that the Catholics deserved the glorious boon of becoming partakers of the British Constitution. The Catholics, by their agent, would protest most solemnly and sincerely against entertaining one view, or one tenet, inconsistent with Christians and freemen—with the strictest morality and national liberty—and, by so doing, secure their motives and conduct from misrepresentation and injustice.

It is fortunate, said the learned gentlemen, that at this moment, there is in London a gentleman eminently qualified to effect the objects desired by the Association—Mr. Eneas M'Donnell—(cheers.)—Whatever intimacy may have subsisted between him (Mr. O'C.) and Mr. M'Donnell, had for some time ceased, and he merely noticed that circumstance to show, that his commendation did not proceed from personal feeling, but a conviction of Mr. M'D's. abilities ; because, although the Association is not the representative of the Catholic body, yet it acts for

them, and in so essential a matter no personal partiality should prevail. Mr. O'Connell moved that he be appointed the general agent in London for the Catholic Association.

This appointment of Mr. Eneas M'Donnell was in a manner forced upon Mr. O'Connell by a party whom he had found, on all occasions, prompt to thwart and counteract his views. To this party Mr. M'Donnell's readiness in debate and adroitness in acquiring and keeping a certain influence in the western parts of Ireland, had been several times of much service, and enabled them to impede, if not entirely to baffle, various plans of Mr. O'Connell. Partly to recompense their partisan, and partly as a trial of strength, they had resolved, from the first mention of an agency in England, to insist upon his being the person appointed.

Mr. O'Connell readily yielded, making one of those prompt concessions upon secondary points, which so helped him in his management of men—and glad, as the thing was to be, that one who could, when it pleased him, give trouble at home, would have the temptations to do so, limited and diminished by distance and want of sufficient opportunity.

Mr. M'Donnell continued for several years in the receipt of a very comfortable salary—£300 a year—from the Association, giving, as value, long pages of "special correspondence," three or four hours' attendance on nights of Irish debates in the house, and an occasional little bit of petty diplomacy with the gracious patrons of the Catholic cause among the members of the two houses of parliament. Mr. M'Donnell named his own salary at £500, as the following extract from a letter of his, dated November 8, will show:—

"Upon the subject of remuneration, I shall be as candid as upon any other. I showed your letter to three different gentlemen, one suggested £700 a year, a second £750, the third £650; but, taking into consideration the many urgent occasions for your funds, I suggest £500 per annum."

The committee of the Association, however, decided upon the sum of £300, though Mr. O'Connell recommended the larger sum.

Mr. Maurice O'Connell reported from the committee of nomination, that the following names were those recommended for the committee of finance and correspondence:—

Rev. Mr. L'Estrange, Daniel O'Connell, Richard Sheil, James Sugrue, Hugh O'Connor, John Bric, William Forde, John Redmond, Laurence Clinch, Michael Staunton, Patrick Fullam, T. T. Dolan, J. D. Mullen, M. J. O'Rielly, P. J. Hart, John Burke, Piersé Ronayne Sheobald M'Kenna, John D'Arcy, James Keally, J. A. Curran, and the secretary.

THE NEWSPAPERS—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "MORNING REGISTER."

MR. O'CONNELL rose to correct an erroneous impression that had gone abroad with respect to the new journal about to be established. The rumour was utterly unfounded that it was to be so established with the funds of the Association.

No portion of the Catholic rent was applied to such purpose, for no money could be appropriated without due notice, and the consent of the Association; but as he constantly consoled himself on his pillow with the reflection that he was the author of the present system of the Catholic rent, he considered it a duty to devise other means also for promoting the great national cause; and therefore it had been determined to establish a journal that would represent truly the proper sentiments of the Catholics.

Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to describe the Orange press in very severe terms, and went on.

That portion of the press affecting to be liberal, was conducted with a silly apathy that foolishly compromises the Catholic interests, and not daring to do wrong, never does right. The new paper would require no support nor countenance from the Catholics, that its own services would not most amply repay. It would be true to the best interests, religious and political, of the country; and would be the organ of popular opinion, and the untiring advocate of civil and religious liberty.

The learned gentleman concluded by moving, that the advertisements of the Association be inserted in the *Morning Register*, which is to publish its first number to-morrow (this day.) As to an evening paper, Mr. O'C. said, they had the advocacy of the *Dublin Evening Post*, which was in itself a host, and he was glad to hear its circulation was increasing as its merits deserved, and having these two good supporters they could afford to laugh at their assailants.

Mr. Conway felt great satisfaction in seconding the motion.—Passed unanimously.

GENERAL PETITION.

MR. O'CONNELL read the draft of the petition for general emancipation. The petition, which was drawn up by Mr. O'Connell, was unanimously adopted, and it was ordered that it should be presented in the Lords by Lord Donoughmore, and in the Commons by Sir Francis Burdett.

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

MR. O'CONNELL informed the meeting, that the members of the Association should be supplied with tickets by the secretary, against the next day of meeting, so as to prevent the unpleasant interruption that had taken place during the present meeting.

Order had been completely restored after the students' interruption, and even the ladies had remained for the conclusion of the proceedings. Mrs. O'Connell and daughters had been conducted to a seat by Mr. O'Connell, previous to the taking of the chair, and were received with loud demonstrations of respect and affection, several rounds of clapping, waving of hats, &c.

About *thirty* new members were admitted.

The meeting, upon this occasion, was more numerous attended by members and auditors than on any since the commencement of the Association. Long before the hour of meeting, it was scarcely possible to obtain a passage through the avenues of approach to the room; and during the business of the meeting, there were many wailings and screams occasioned by the pressure outside the door, which was at length burst open, but no inconvenience ensued.

It is a singular fact, that among all the crowded meetings attended by Mr. O'Connell throughout his life, there was not one in which an accident of any consequence was even reported to have occurred!

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

MEETING OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, CAPEL STREET.

LAURENCE CLYNCH, Esq., in the Chair.

The Catholic rent received since last meeting was announced as £518 19s. 7d.

Mr. O'Connell inquired if the letter of thanks to the Most Rev. Dr. Plunkett, Catholic Bishop of Meath, which had been agreed to at a meeting of the Association, had been forwarded as directed.

Mr. Conway (acting secretary) said that it had.

RIGHT REV. DR. PLUNKETT.

MR. O'CONNELL said the venerable prelate was the oldest bishop in Ireland, and held his diocese longer than any other bishop in Europe. He had taken great trouble and exerted himself very effectually in establishing the Catholic rent, having written circular letters to his clergy, requesting their assistance in forwarding that measure, and therefore it was that the Association had agreed to the letter which was intended as a tribute of respect and gratitude to so old and respectable a prelate.

His lordship, said Mr. O'Connell, had transmitted his subscription as a member of the Association, and which was very precious, as demonstrating his approbation of the proceedings of the Association.

Mr. O'Connell handed in another yearly subscription from the Rev. Eugene O'Reilly, principal of that very respectable seminary, the Navan academy.

The learned gentleman also stated that the clergymen of French-street convent of Carmelites, who devote their lives to the education of the poor, had requested to be enrolled as a body—as members of the Association—and had sent in their subscription.

Mr. O'Connell gave notice of a motion, “that as almost the whole of the Catholic peers had paid in their subscription, they should be enrolled as members of the Association.”

The learned gentleman took occasion to suggest that a petition should be presented to his majesty to restore Lord Riversdale to his title; and when they considered the magnanimity and gracious generosity of his royal breast, and his having so lately so noble a feeling respecting the remains of King James, there could be little doubt but that feeling would be extended to the descendants of King James's followers.

In the present instance, the restoring Lord Riversdale to his title, would be received by the Catholics as a compliment.

A conversation ensued as to the disturbances of the late meeting by the students of Trinity College; and Mr. O'Connell announced that he hoped soon to secure for the Association another place of meeting, where the possibility of such annoyances would be obviated.

A letter was read from John Finlay, Esq., expressing his acknowledgments for the vote of thanks which had been communicated to him.

On the 10th November, £10 was handed in from Lord Cloncurry, with an excellent letter, from which the following is an extract:—

“The last wish I ever heard from Grattan was for the *repeal of the Union*. If all Ireland were polled, I do not believe that out of the seven millions, one hundred votes could be against the repeal of that finishing act of Ireland's degradation. In that repeal I place my best, my almost only hope, of her regeneration.”

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

BIBLE MEETING AT LOUGHREA.

Mr. O'Gorman strongly denounced the conduct of the Trench family on the above occasion.

MR. O'CONNELL never remembered any transaction so surrounded with falsehoods as the Loughrea business.

As he was on his legs now he might as well allude to a paragraph that appeared in *The Courier* newspaper, and which could be traced to one of the Trench family in this country. It had appeared, however, in the usual way, as if it had been written by one of the ordinary scribes of the paper.

The facts, which were much misrepresented, were these:—the meeting was an open meeting, and one to which the Catholics were invited by tickets, sent round by the Protestant Warden of Galway. Now this fact was denied; it was denied in England, and it was denied in Ireland; but he held the original invitation in the hand-writing of the Rev. J. Daly, nephew to Judge Daly, who voted for the union, and had a conscience. (Laughter.) This fact could be attested by Messrs. Guthrie, M'Nevin, and Power.

These gentlemen had been libelled in the *Galway Advertiser*. The proprietor informed them, that these libels had been inserted without his countenance or approbation, and he authorised them to go to his printing-office and search for the manuscript. They

did not find the manuscript they wanted ; but they, however, laid their hands on something much better, which was the identical paper which he held in his hand, and which he would now read :—

“ You are hereby invited to attend the annual meeting of the county of Galway Branch of the Hibernian Bible Society, to be held in the court house of Loughrea, at one o'clock, on Tuesday the 19th of October. The Rev. W. B. Mathias is expected from the parent society”—(expected, mind, and from the parent society too—(a laugh)—“ and his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam has consented to take the chair.”

He would now deposit this paper with the secretary, Mr. O'Gorman.

MR. O'GORMAN.—Every thing dangerous you may leave with me. (Laughter.)

Mr. O'Connell resumed, and said, that the Trench family were always principal opponents of the Catholics ; no one on their estates would get a renewal of his lease, unless his children attended the Bible Schools ; he knew one man, indeed, who, having no children under the age of twenty-two or twenty-four, was not required to send them to school, to get his lease renewed.

He did not forget the time when one of that family brought the Jocelyn Horse (loud applause) to disperse a meeting of the people at Galway. The Trench family had for all this a multiplicity of good offices. There was among them an earl, an archbishop, commissioners of revenue, and he knew not what beside. (Laughter.)

He would cause a petition to be presented to parliament on the grievances which the people sustained from that family. An unfortunate Papist, between sentence and execution, had written so very eloquent a letter against the impurities of the Catholic faith, and so much in favour of the Bible Societies, that his life was saved, through the intervention of a member of the Trench family, and he was now a teacher in one of their Bible Schools.

Here Mr. O'Connell proceeded to read the article in the *Courier*, paragraph by paragraph, and to refer to it as he went along.

The article in question was replete with gross falsehoods. It was said that he (Mr. O'C.) indulged in violent tirades against the English press. He called it, it was true, a base, an excessively base press, and he called it so still ; and it was not, surely, in the eyes of the world, the less base for receiving an article ready manufactured from Ireland, and printing it as its own. The *Courier* affected to be our friend, by not publishing our

proceedings, as detrimental to our own interests. Did they ever publish a word for us? and if our proceedings injured ourselves, oh! how soon they would have them in at full length.

Was not a sneaking, false insinuation of this kind worse than a courageous, open lie? It had nothing of the danger of the latter, while it had a mischief and a malevolence peculiarly its own. The *Courier* had asserted, that he had pointed out the Protestant places of worship as nuisances. The fact was not so. He merely condemned their architectural style, or rather the want of all architecture. Could there then be a greater falsehood than this? When he (Mr. O'Connell) spoke of the population in England, and the facts respecting the births one month after marriage, he did not use his own language—he merely stated the evidence on oath, sworn to distinctly and positively by a Protestant clergyman, and contained in the reports and parliamentary returns concerning the population. In alluding to this subject he had used, with a slight transposition, a quotation from Shakspeare. He said, "The marriage-baked meats did coldly furnish forth the christening feast." This, he said, on the 29th September last, yet the *Courier* had misrepresented it. For the *Courier* made him say that nineteen women out of twenty were separated from their husbands.

The *Courier* then alluded to what he had said respecting the Marquis of Londonderry. He did not say that that nobleman had put an end to the parliament in the manner in which he afterwards put an end to himself. What he had said was, that Castlereagh had extinguished his country. To this he pleaded guilty; and who that revered the memory of *Washington*, or *Bolivar*, or even *Kosciusko*, who was unsuccessful, but must detest the man that had uprooted and destroyed the independence of his country.

He (Mr. O'C.) remembered Ireland glorious and independent—but looking on what she then was and what she is now, he could not be complaisant in speaking of the man who had waded through blood and bribery to consign his native land to cold oblivion by robbing her of her independence.

Was it then too strong an expression to call on his countrymen to shun and avoid the traitor's grave? To show a just execration for the vicious was as natural and rightful as to honour the virtuous; and in pointing out to his children examples to avoid, he would pronounce the name of *Castlereagh*, and tell them to hand it to their children's children to shun and shudder at.

There was no generous spirit that must not apply to him that worst accusation of the old Roman—

“Vendidit hic auro patriam.”

The *Courier* had talked of the declaration he made respecting the turbulence of the peasantry. Now he repeated that he wondered the peasantry were not more turbulent, goaded as they were by the merciless oppressions practised on them; and he certainly would never retract these expressions till the causes that excited the peasantry to acts of insurrection were removed.

The *Courier* had introduced his name coupled with that of Dr. Doyle—this was a recompense for the falsehoods they had printed respecting himself. The mere association with such a man as Dr. Doyle was honourable. He only desired his name to be coupled with that of this excellent man and Christian prelate. Doctor Doyle did not need his (Mr. O’Connell’s) advocacy; he was able and willing to defend himself, and all he wanted was a clear stage and no favour; but he could not omit the opportunity of stating, that of all the intellects he had ever encountered—and the nature of his profession, while it gave him some insight into the character of the human mind, also enabled him to judge pretty correctly of the powers of individuals—that of Doctor Doyle was the most mighty and stupendous that he had ever witnessed, while his manly, gentle, bland and amiable manners, formed a fine contrast to the towering strength of his intellect, and illustrated the idea of the “thunderbolt of Jove in the hands of a child,” by their soft and soothing influence.

This kindness of disposition, this amiable piety, combined with the single-heartedness of Doctor Doyle’s mind, had added to the utility of his purposes, and given him a moral force with the people which was irresistible. It was quite incredible the sums of money that he lavished in charity; his benevolence and his purse seemed inexhaustible, as they were indeed most unaccountable. He appeared to coin his heart into relief for his famishing countrymen.

He now came to the Cork business. This meeting was held in the court-house, and passing at the time with Mr. Sheil and Mr. Bric, and seeing the court house open, they were naturally tempted to go in; they saw, likewise, the magistrates and the sheriffs, and ladies of all ranks and age, some of them, to be sure, whose beauty was on the wane, starch and prim—(laughter)—but others in the full bloom of youth, all, all, pushing the

same way—so then, in he went, accompanied by the forementioned gentlemen.

When they had got through the crowd in the entry, and secured places within a convenient distance of the speakers' platform, he (Mr. O'Connell) listened for some time to the Scotch captain praising Scotland and abusing England; and the young English gentleman from the fashionable coteries of London, speaking too of Ireland and their religion as a matter of which he was quite conversant. When they had done, he (Mr. O'C.) said, ladies and gentlemen, I am on the other side, if you please; and after making them laugh for an hour at the Englishman, he said, now, if you please, we will laugh a little at the Scotchman.

He would next call their attention to the business at Loughrea. Here there were both Protestants and Catholics who could bear witness to the falsity of the reports which had been circulated.

The fact was, the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Trench, managed this matter very well—he had his plans arranged—he had his friends inside—he had the police surrounding the place, and the doors guarded by hussars. It was asserted, indeed, that the introduction of the soldiery was accidental—quite unexpected! No one confessed to having called for them—the magistrate knew nothing about it; but notwithstanding all these very credible denials, he (Mr. O'Connell) rather believed it was not very difficult to make a guess at how the soldiers came there, and by whose express interference and request they were introduced. The Catholics were invited there to hear their religion abused, while they were placed between their traducers and the military.

It was utterly false that any violence had been offered to the archbishop, when he proposed the first of their long list of resolutions. Nothing of the kind occurred either then or at any period of the meeting. All that happened was this:—A Catholic clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Daly, rose to address the chair. This the archbishop said could not be permitted, as none but members were allowed to speak there—a novel piece of intelligence for the Catholics after their having been specially invited to attend. It was then moved that his grace should leave the chair, and thereby enable the meeting to be made more general. The archbishop, however, refused to receive the amendment, and declared he would remain there a month, rather than leave the chair without putting the motion. He said he was not aware that the Catholics were more accustomed to fasting than he was. Mr. M'Nevin said they were determined to outdo him,

and would be quite content to remain two months in the place, rather than submit to be over-ruled in the manner they saw attempted. As to fasting, high in his church as the archbishop was, still he rather believed that the Catholics were a little more practised in fasting, and could stand it longer than his grace. They kept their word by remaining, but the archbishop broke his, for he vacated the chair.

This, Sir, was the outrageous conduct, as it has been falsely styled. In fact there was no outrageous conduct; every thing occurred in the presence of Catholics and Protestants, who can testify to the fact; nothing of offence was spoken.

When, at length, the archbishop had left the chair, Mr. Guthrie, a Protestant barrister, was called to it; certain resolutions were passed; these resolutions they have taken care not to publish; now he would be content to forfeit all claims to emancipation if every thing he had stated could not be judicially proved. Let the business be put in a judicial shape; this would bring every thing to light. Had they not a right to applaud? Had they not a right to appeal? Had they not a right to require an investigation into this business.

He begged pardon for detaining them at this late hour. He would deem it necessary to refute the calumnies of the base press; he cared not what lies it told of him, provided his Catholic fellow-countrymen were not traduced.

At this meeting Mr. O'Connell announced that a treaty had been entered into with the Corn Exchange company, for a lease of their large room, and of the hotel adjoining (the present committee rooms, &c., of the Association), at a rent of £150 a year.

The matter was referred to the finance committee to be finally arranged, and this was done by their closing with the terms of the Corn Exchange company, for the great room and the entire of the premises composing the hotel.

The first meeting of the Association took place in the great room, on Saturday, November 18, and was marked by rent-remittances from three of the Catholic hierarchy, with the clergy of their dioceses, headed by the late Primate of all Ireland, the Right Rev. Dr. Curtis. The latter most estimable prelate wrote a long and important letter on the occasion.

An important communication was also read from the Earl of Kenmare, and special votes of thanks moved to the prelates, and to his lordship.

On Wednesday, November 17, the week's rent was £545 4s. 7½d., and upon that day week, November 24, it amounted to £547 11s. 0½d., which had been, for some time, a steady amount.

Several thousand pounds had already been invested in the public funds, and altogether the Association was in a most flourishing condition.

The Cork meeting to which Mr. O'Connell alluded in the last speech we have given, took place upon Thursday, the 9th of September, in that city.

It was styled a meeting of the Cork Hibernian School Society, and lasted two days, during which the "*missionaries*," the Hon. Baptist Noel and Captain Gordon, M.P., with some Irish assistants, harangued against Popery, especially Irish Popery, and Mr. Sheil, Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Bric replied to them.

The reports which we have been able to lay our hands on, of Mr. O'Connell's speech of the first day, are so very meagre, and confessedly defective, that they are not worth insertion. The papers say :—

“ Mr. O'Connell replied to Mr. Noel in a powerful speech in which argument, ridicule, and eloquence were blended together. Mr. O'Connell entered into the argument upon the distribution of Bibles, and referred to Scripture and to the authority of the fathers with great felicity, to establish his tenets.”

Upon the second day the following scene occurred :—

SECOND DAY—FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

The Rev. HENRY IRWIN spoke as follows :—I rise with feelings of deep humility. These meetings, whose privacy has been intruded on, are now open meetings. The individuals who have intruded here—who have disturbed the prevailing harmony and unanimity of this assembly, had no more right to do so than they could have to force their way into the privacy of domestic life. Mr. O'Connell thought proper to name his lady—that gentleman deemed it right to make his wife the subject of his public observations, to introduce his conjugal happiness as one of the topics of a popular oration, making his family felicities assist him in a public harangue. If I had spoken of Mrs. O'Connell as he—(Cries of “ Order, order.”)

MR. FREEMAN (Chairman)—If this conduct be continued I can no longer preside over the meeting. If there be not an immediate end to the disturbance, I must quit the court.

[The disorder having somewhat diminished, Mr. Irwin was about to resume, when it was intimated that Mr. O'Connell was outside, and could not obtain admittance, owing to the crowded state of the passages.]

MR. IRWIN resumed—In speaking of the unfounded accusations brought against the women of England by Mr. O'Connell, and his incidental introduction of his own family concerns, I trust it is unnecessary to assure the meeting that I meant the learned gentleman no offence. If I had spoken of his wife in such terms as he had spoken of the Bible—if I said that she was a very good woman, but that I would not allow her to visit my family—

MR. BRIC—Such language is highly improper when uttered of any gentleman, but ought not to be applied to a lady of Mrs. O'Connell's rank.

MR. FREEMAN (Chairman)—If the rev. gentleman had applied such language to my wife, I certainly should not esteem it an offence.

MR. BRIC—At all events, it is bad taste.

[Some commotion was then observable at one of the entrances, and the shout of “ make way for Mr. O'Connell ” immediately succeeding, he entered the meeting amid deafening applause. A good-humoured and amicable explanation having taken place about Mrs. O'Connell, Mr. Irwin resumed, assuring the learned gentleman that he meant the lady nothing but respect.]

MR. O'CONNELL—If you believe me, she deserves nothing less. (A laugh.)

MR. IRWIN—But it would not have been respectful to have spoken of her as Mr. O'Connell has spoken of the Bible, and that was all that I contended for. To pass, however, from this comparatively unimportant part of the discussion, I turn to a topic broached by Mr. Sheil in his speech of yesterday, when he said,

that of the lunatics in our asylum, so large a proportion had gone mad from Bible reading.

The Rev. Gentleman continued at considerable length to reply to Mr. Sheil, and was followed by Captain Gordon, who, as the newspapers reported, "proceeded to eulogize his own countrymen (the Scotch) in a long speech."

MR. O'CONNELL said, he did not know whether he should be pardoned for addressing the meeting at this late hour, and in this exhausted state, if it was not that he felt himself imperatively called upon by what he considered his duty.

He had heard the liberal gentleman who was speaking when he first entered (Mr. Irwin) with great pleasure; he presumed that that gentleman was all he had described himself, and more than his modesty permitted him to make known. He was also delighted to hear Mr. Gordon; he liked even the raciness of his Scotch accent. That gentleman began by abusing the ignorant and degraded Irish, and by so doing unintentionally hit at the church which received two millions per annum for educating this abused and corrupted people. He had glanced at our late disturbances, and praised the Scotch, and small blame to him, above all the other people on the face of the earth.—They were a Bible-reading people, it seemed; but some of the readers had turned radical reformers, and there had been disturbances amongst them too. But then there was a Captain Rock there, in the shape of five-and-twenty thousand Irishmen, and no doubt they had been the leaders in every disturbance.

This reminded him of an announcement he once read in a Scotch newspaper—it ran thus: "We are authorised to state that the Archibald M'Even, who was hanged at the Canongate last Wednesday, was not a Scotchman, but that he was an Irishman."

But, good God, did the Scotch gentleman read history? he bore a name honourable in his own country, and was he acquainted with the history of that country? Did he remember the days of the covenant, when an attempt was made to force upon the people a religion which they disliked—when Scotland was the weak point through which the throne of England was threatened to be assailed? Did he recollect the days of the Camerons and the Claverhouses—when the clergymen preached in the battle-field? Could he be ignorant of circumstances which were made familiar even to females by the beautiful creation of that great Scotch genius whose works delighted all classes? Scotland, at the period referred to, was more turbulent than Ireland had ever been; her then population did not probably exceed

two millions ; her proportion of fighting men was very inconsiderable. Oh ! had she then, like Ireland at the present day, a population of seven millions, she would have rolled back the tide of war until the Tower of London would have yielded to its mighty torrent. (Applause.)

Nor were her disturbances healed until the project of enforcing her to embrace thirty-nine articles of the Established Church was abandoned. No, let England, instead of sending school-boys and captains to convert the un-Christian Irish, conciliate them by taking off the degradation that oppresses them, and extend to them as she extended to Scotland, liberty of conscience. (Cheers.)

The elegance of England had been commented upon, and this of course was all ascribed to Bible reading. But was not Greece elegant although she was not Christian, and had not Rome the glory of conquering the world, before she knew of any other religion than Paganism ? He would now proceed to read from the reports of the Bible Society, the state of various parts of England, from which it would appear that numbers of the English were sunk in the most horrid state of barbarism.

Here Mr. O'Connell read an immense number of extracts from various reports of religious societies in England, all describing in terrific terms, the lamentable depravity of the people of that country, and the absence amongst them of religion.

These were the English—this was the land of Goshen. He defied any one to prove that a considerable number of the Irish were in this state of religious darkness ; they received as much of the benefits of education, as the limited means of their pastors would admit.

But the English, who sent missionaries over here, to convert the Irish, what a state they were in in accordance to their own reports ? To those missionaries, and to the Scotch gentleman, who boasted of the elegance and glory of England, he would say, take the beam out of your own eye, before you attempt to pick at the mote in ours.

He would tell him that the Irish considered their own priests, as little as they were thought of, enough for them. He confessed himself incapable of doing justice to their merits, and it might be that even his eulogy would offend them ; their virtues were of that retiring and unobtrusive nature, as to seek not the reward of panegyric—their deeds of usefulness tended to an object far removed above the praise of human eloquence, no matter of how high an order. They were worthy to be succes-

sors of those Apostles, men who converted the nations of the earth to Christianity : for what nation was ever converted unless through the preaching and pious zeal of the Catholic priesthood? No privations could deter them from this work of salvation—no danger could affright them from their charitable ministry. Talk not idly of their battles' roar, it lasts but an hour, and then comes death or glory ; but—but the labours of the Catholic priest are interminable. He inhales the very air of contagion from every straw of the sick man's pallet, and in the most heart-rending duties of his office, he finds and feels the surest pledge and antepast of his future and eternal happiness. (Cheers.)

Satisfied with our creed and our ministers, he would, therefore, advise the hon. young gentleman and the Scotch captain to go to the land of Goshen—to go to the savage and demoralized English, and make converts there, for though he should prophecy the downfall of Popery, until he became hoarse, he would never make a convert here. (Loud applause.) The Scotch captain has been candid. Before his prophetic vision, perhaps he (Mr. O'Connell) should call it his faculty of *second sight*, so characteristic of his countrymen : it was humorous enough to reflect, how magically the priesthood of Ireland—their sacraments and sacrifice—their altars, their images, and their temples, disappeared—and how extensively the new modes of Gospel regeneration, of which he was made one of the importers, prevailed over the land. (Cheers.)

His speech reminded him (Mr. O'Connell) of a poem he had read many years since, the heads of it might be applied to the honest captain's address :—

He talked of Taffy Welsh and Sawney Scot.
Of Lilubbulero, and the Irish Trot—
When seized on a sudden with a mighty qualm,
He rose, and thundered forth—the Hundredth Psalm.

Mr. O'Connell, again, in allusion to England, which he called the land of Goshen, said, in this howling wilderness was there not room enough for the missionaries without coming here to prophecy that the faith which had stood so many bloody storms should fall. That the faith, the professors of which were not divided, or else it could not have stood for 1800 years, should be subverted.

There was no idolatry in the Catholic religion. It was insincere, after reading the perspicuous disclaimer and exposition of the Catechism, to charge it with idolatry. For his part, he

could never contemplate the cross, that symbol of his redemption, without thinking, deeply thinking, on the three long hours of suffering and of shame that his Redeemer hung upon it!

He would now ask which of the Bible-reading gentlemen agreed in their faith—he did not believe that any two of those he saw, held the same religious opinion. Did the young English gentleman and the Scotch captain, who came here as missionaries, hold the same faith. They travelled, he supposed, together in a post-chaise, to overturn the Catholic religion.

The English gentleman belonged to the nobility of England and should be an Episcopalian—a high Churchman; if he was not, he must have swerved from the religion of his ancestors; and the captain, coming from Scotland, ought to be a Calvinist, unless he had thrown overboard his faith. How did these post-chaise companions agree on religious matters—did they toss up for the religion—or which of their religious tenets were their *couverts* to embrace? It was too good a joke of the English—sending a schoolboy and a Scotch captain to educate the wild Irish, and bring them over from the religion they had derived from their fathers—from the religion of which it was said, that it was founded on a rock, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. The extracts he had read were from the reports of the British Bible Society, and what did they prove, if true? That the English were sunk in a state of savage barbarism; or if false, that the missionaries were fine romancers. Formerly, the priesthood were censured, and, it was said, that they had endeavoured to prevent the spread of education, and that the schools were not intended to proselytise but to educate. Now, however, the object was avowed, and he was glad of this.

One of the missionaries had prophesied the destruction of Popery. Mr. Pope had mentioned some word in which his own translator differed from the original—was a child, an uneducated child, to decide, when Mr. Pope and his translator differed. There is no difficulty (continued Mr. O'C.) in answering the reverend, perhaps it may be more correct to say, the half Reverend Mr. Pope, on all the texts he has quoted. Though a layman, he (Mr. O'C.) would undertake to prove to any rational mind that the Catholic religion was the only form of faith that had all the consistency and evidence of a Divine Revelation. Let any man of a different communion who heard him (Mr. O'Connell) name the sect to which he belonged, and he (Mr. O'Connell) would tell him the *person* with whom, and the *time* at which it had originated. (Loud cheers.) But he would challenge each and all of them to

specify a single point of Catholic *doctrine*, (for with mere differences of opinion, however numerous with respect to subjects unconnected with *faith* and *morals*, he had nothing to do,) and state the period of its alleged introduction, and he pledged himself to produce the authority of historians and the traditions of nations to attest, that it was preached and practised by every age, even to that of the apostles and of their Divine Master. (Hear, hear.)

The church which the Saviour had founded could not have fallen into error. He built it upon a *rock*, and promised that the "gates of hell should not prevail against it." He delegated his apostles, and of course their successors, with whom he was to remain "until the consummation of the world," to *teach* all nations; and he gave them power to *rule his holy church*; and all the texts therefore, which abstractedly considered, would seem to make other persons *judges* of his law, must obviously be received in the sense in which they, the apostles and their successors, explain them, else their authority would be utterly nugatory. (Hear, hear.) If every one was at liberty to interpret the Scriptures according to his own way of thinking, oh! 'tis as plain as the sun at noon-day, that even Mr. Pope may have spared himself the labour of trying to reduce the almost countless sectaries in England, to what he termed "five divisions, five *simple* divisions," --(cheers)--and that the divine oracle, "He that does not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican," would be perfectly unmeaning. (Much cheering.)

Mr. Pope had quoted a bundle of saints, but they *all differed in opinion from him*—if he appealed to St. Basil, St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, they all differed from him—they were all Catholics, some of them were the greatest founders of convents the Christian world ever produced, and all of them celebrated that divine Sacrifice of the Mass, which Mr. Pope or any other Mr., who wished to rise in the church by law established, *should* swear to be *damnable* and *idolatrous*. And one of them (St. Augustine) emphatically declares, that "He would not believe the Gospel unless on the authority of the Catholic church." Cheers, loud and long continued.) .

He had talked of the differences of the Popes, and told you that the Popes of those days as well as the *Popes* of this, were very extraordinary fellows. (Shouts of laughter, and great applause.) He had also talked of the acts of council; but as councils, when general, constitute the *teaching* part of the church, 't is clear that they cannot approve of error without contradicting

the repeated assurances of the Redeemer, and forgetting their claim to the character given by St. Paul, of the church, that "it is the pillar and ground of truth."

[Mr. O'Connell here entered into an admirable historical narrative of the opinions of the fathers of the church, through which our limits will not permit us to follow him.]

The Catholics were charged with altering the Scriptures. Did not Christ say, "this is my body?" and do not the Bible readers say, this is not my body? On this text alone, though all the New Lights tell us that there is nothing obscure or difficult to be understood in the Old or New Testaments, there are *at least eighteen opposite opinions!* But to those who hear the living, speaking authority of the church of Christ, every obscurity brightens into evidence of faith. (Cheers.)

The practicability of the real presence was proved when Christ transubstantiated water into wine at the marriage feast; its practicability was also proved when he multiplied a few loaves and a few fishes so as to feed an immense multitude, and fill twelve baskets with fragments, without ever losing their *identity*; and when he said—"unless you eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, you shall not have life in you." His answer to some, even of his disciples, who said, "this is a hard saying, who can hear it?" explained his meaning. He did not correct their error, as he certainly would, if error they had been in; but his language was, "the words I have spoken to you are spirit and life; but there are some of you that believe not." (Great applause.) Every father of the church until the Reformation (as it was called,) believed in the tenet. Mr. Pope said that it is contrary to Scripture that a woman should preach in public; yet, not long since, he (Mr. O'Connell) had heard a Quaker lady preaching in Eustace-street, Dublin.

Here we observed several ladies of the Society of Friends, who attended at the meeting, endeavouring to make their way from the court-house.

Again Mr. Pope and Mr. Falvey had disagreed as to the meaning of a particular portion of Scripture; texts had been bandied about. Was there no tribunal to decide between them? There was one tribunal—the church. It was from tradition that the Protestant celebrated infant baptism and many other rites—not a single word concerning which was to be found in Scripture. The Roman Catholics respected the Testament, but they cling to tradition also. When St. Paul admonished the Thessalonians against false teachers and dreamers of new doc-

trines, what were his words? "Therefore, brethren," said he, as a conclusion from his preceding remarks, "stand firm and hold the *traditions* which you have learned, whether by *word* or by our epistle." (Thunders of applause.)

He was surprised as well as delighted with the admissions which had been made that day. The Scotch gentleman, by his prophecy, had confessed that proselytism was the real object.

Mr. Gordon rose to say, that it was proselytism—not from one religion to another, but from ignorance to knowledge. (Laughter.)

Mr. O'Connell resumed—He thanked the gentleman. He liked a good inuendo, and if he was drawing an information from what the gentleman had said, he would write—from "ignorance," meaning the *Catholic religion*, to "knowledge," meaning the *Protestant*. (Loud cheers.)

They knew what was really meant by these terms. If they got the benefit of funds, the Catholics themselves would educate the whole people. As a lawyer he could tell the meeting, that many years were not past since it was a legal crime for a Catholic priest to exercise his functions. And there was the time under a *pious* government, who, doubtlessly, read the Bible, when the premium for the destruction of a wolf, and the production of a priest's head was of equal amount. (Hear, hear.)

Something had been said of the charity of England—they had given £100,000, but it was not until whole parishes had got extreme unction that it arrived—he thanked the individuals who came forward, but he did not thank the nation for this—let those not talk who had degraded our gentry—broken the spirit of the people, and paid back that beggarly charity—they had scoffed at our religion—yet they talked of charity. He would say to the English, do justice before you preach religion—send missionaries, not to the poor of the south, but to the Orangemen of the north. (Thunders of applause.)

Of all the societies established in the "*sister*" country, romantically styled the land of Goshen, for bringing the light of the Gospel to the hovel of the Irish Catholic, is there one, or has there been one, to humanize that great moral and political monster—the sanguinary and antisocial Orangeman. (Thunders of applause.) Oh, no!—here the cloven foot of our *benefactors* appears. Proclaim honestly that conscience is free; destroy that worst of monopolies—the monopoly of religion; and suffer the poor, the patient, and the persecuted Catholic, to live and die undisturbed in the religion of his forefathers. (Immense applause.)

But he laughed with supreme contempt at the undermining—at the miserable plans by which they attempted to make the people believe that they were coming as friends—at the insulting policy which induced them—when the people asked for bread, to give them a stone.

The loud acclamations with which this address was received, continued several minutes

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

AFTER other business a letter was read, signed Geo. Parker Tevers, Rue de Grenelle, Faubourg St. Germain, proposing to procure insertion of articles in the French and Continental papers. The writer suggested that his proposal should not be made public, as the advocacy of the French press, if considered spontaneous, would be more serviceable.

MR. O'CONNELL, after reading the letter, observed, *that there should be no secrets in the Association*, as whatever was good should not be withheld, and whatever was bad should not be stated; and while upon the subject of the press, he would avail himself of the opportunity of noticing some observations that had lately appeared in two of the London papers respecting the Association.

The *Morning Post* has a vile attack, accusing them of all manner of turpitude, to which Mr. M'Donnell furnished an able reply, but the editor of that print met Mr. M'Donnell's article with an absurd sneer, because he could not controvert it, and he had not the manliness to retract. But what was of most consequence in this tirade was an assertion that the Catholics had offered a slight to Marquis Wellesley, who, it was said, the Association accused of not putting down Orange delinquency.

How little the wretch knew of Ireland, when he thought that the Marquis Wellesley could effect so desirable a purpose. He could not do so even with the assistance of the Catholic Association; and if he thought that they were doing any thing to hurt the feelings, or thwart the policy of Marquis Wellesley, then, indeed, he would acknowledge they were doing wrong, for he was persuaded that the Lord Lieutenant's intentions toward Ireland were of the purest and most liberal nature.

The slave of the *Courier* affected to be alarmed, because one Jack Lawless, a reformer, and O'Connell an agitator, had asserted the necessity of parliamentary reform. It was true they had done so, but the Association was in no way committed upon the

subject, nor should they ; but did the *Courier* forget that the principles of legislative policy, by which the British cabinet appear to be guided, is calculated to make every Catholic a reformer ; for when their petition is refused with scorn, and when men batter at the gates of corruption without effect, what remains for them but to endeavour to remove the obstruction to justice and policy ?

Hitherto the Catholic petitions have been rejected as but the claims of a few, but at present they are the demands of all Ireland. Mr. O'Connell moved, that Mr. Tever's letter be referred to the Committee.

Mr. Kirwan said, that any situation that might be created at Paris should be open to competition.

Mr. O'Connell said, the situation should certainly be open to competition.

Motion agreed to.

AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

DUBLIN, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1824.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE, Bart., in the Chair.

MR. O'CONNELL.--I have news for you. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) We really are to be emancipated. (Loud laughter.)

I can see that very plainly, without the Scotch gift of second sight. (Continued laughter.) I can see it in many unequivocal signs and prognostics ; I can perceive it in the intellect, and the firmness, and the glorious unanimity, which are now exhibited by the Catholic millions of Ireland. I perceive it in the union that exists between the Catholics and so great and so good a portion of the Protestants of the land. I perceive in the acts of the illustrious Irish nobleman who is placed at the head of the Irish government. I perceive it in the increased ardour and activity of all our friends, and in the growing distraction of our enemies. I perceive it in the wealth, and the worth, and the talent which surround me. I perceive it in the enthusiasm which every liberal, enlightened, and generous sentiment has awakened in the vast multitude assembled before me. I perceive it, above all, in the writhings and contortions of our enemies ; in the frantic ribaldry and scandal of the miscreant *Mai* and ruffian *Star*—in the abominable falsehood of *The Courier*,

and the beastly calumnies of *The Times* and *Morning Post*.--
(Cheers.)

I once saw a caricature describing a flight of parsons, which was first taken for a flight of crows by an observing farmer. As soon as the farmer perceived his mistake, he naturally enough exclaimed, "I hope they will not light upon my farm." (A laugh.) If the farmer's expectation was disappointed, we can tell something of the consequences which were likely to follow the visitation. (A laugh.) To a flight of this kind we owe our *Warders*, and *Stars*, and *Mails*, and all the unblushing falsehoods to which it is their chief end and aim to give circulation. To this we owe the prostitution of Popish pens, for purposes of Irish degradation—the employment of a herd of renegades to defame the religion and character of Irishmen. (Hear, hear.)

The paymasters of these detestable engines of discord seem latterly to have transferred their patronage to the hirelings of the London press. In Ireland the traffic in falsehood has been avowedly set up as a livelihood. Lies to last twenty-four hours have been purchased at the most enormous prices, by funds drawn from the pockets of the people—any sort of lie, one for seven hours, or one for the tithe of an hour, has had its purchaser. The parsons have perched in London, and there the work of traduction and falsehood goes on with an alacrity that bids fair to transcend in enormity, the worst deeds which we have witnessed in Ireland. (Hear.) The tithes of the Irish poor are going over rapidly to bribe the base press of London.

This is one of the symptoms from which I draw consolation—this is one of the signs of the times, from which I conclude that our emancipation is at hand; I see the certainty of that event in the dying contortions of the serpent of division, which was left in Ireland, when all the other venomous things were destroyed, to blast the fairness of the land. I see it, I again say, in all the lovely features of our glorious unanimity—I see it in the congregated rank, and talent, and wealth assembled here to-day. I see it in the countenance and support which all our measures receive from our ever beloved and venerated clergy. I see it in the excellent dispositions manifested by the great body of the people—in their determination, now more manifest than at any former time, to listen to the voice of their friends, to watch patiently the progress of events, and to suffer those who are labouring to effect their emancipation, to achieve their ends unobstructed by nugatory turbulence, or fruitless resistance to the law of the land. (Cheers.)

The English were here exactly 652 years ; before their coming the Irish were divided—they came because they were divided ; division was the great engine of their policy ; they placed a faction in the heart of the country ; they made the faction every thing and the people nothing. Before the Reformation, the English were put into opposition against the native Irish ; after the Reformation, the Protestant was arrayed against the Catholic ; he was selected and placed in power. The history of the country showed, that it was by division that the power of the adverse faction was kept alive ; by division they would seek to retain their domination—but the days of delusion were gone by ; the question came home to the English parliament, whether they would prefer the people or the faction.

What were the merits of that faction ? His learned friend (Mr. Sheil) had shown what little genius or talent was to be found in the University. He would take a wider scope ; he would go through the land, and ask where could be found amongst them, dignity of character, or power of mind. There was the corrupt and miserable corporation ; who were the orators—who were the public speakers amongst them ? Why, there was Sir Abraham Bradley King—(a laugh)—there was Master Ellis, God bless the mark—(laughter.) What an orator ! (A laugh.) He once had heard Master Ellis attempt a speech, and he laughed a considerable time after. Then there was the press. Who were their public writers ? From what class were they selected ? Every writer they had was a renegade and an apostate. The writers of *The Warder*, *The Star*, and *The Evening Mail*, were all renegades ; or if not so, they were foul and faithless wretches, whose writings showed how deeply they were tinged with infidelity, and these the base instruments of a base faction. Was it possible that seven millions of people were to be longer kept in a state of servitude to answer the purposes of a talentless, tasteless, virulent faction ?

The people of Ireland would go before parliament—let the parliament choose between them. Where the faction were weak in numbers they were contemptible in talents and influence—where they were strong, as in the North of Ireland, blood and desolation marked their progress—the conflagration of peaceful dwellings—the corpses of the murdered, and the wailings and lamentations of women and of orphans. Can England, without shuddering, support such a party before the eyes of an indignant world ? Against whom were they to support that party ? Against the people—against seven millions of the Irish people—men who

were never guilty of treachery, who sought no innovation, whose only crime was a faithful and pious adherence to the religion, which the ancestors of the English people followed.

The Catholics were anxious to stand or to fall with England—England, who wanted such an alliance, who was surrounded by nations who now wisely employed the years of peace to increase their forces and to recruit their finances—she wanted the holy alliance of the people. It was not to the alliance of a Siberian despot—it was not to the alliance of a man who had violated his word in the face of all Europe—it was not to Hungary or Austria—it was not to the King of France that England was to look.—France, great in her power, jealous of the greatness and of the commerce of England, could never be counted on as a faithful ally; and might, even while he spoke, declare herself an enemy.

But the people of Ireland offered to the sister country the hand of sincere friendship; they wished to be bound to her by the ties of a common interest, by the community of equal rights; they were attached to the throne—they adored the constitution. United with England, the common strength of both nations might laugh to scorn the attempt of any enemy. (Applause.) The people of Ireland offered their attachment—and did they ask any thing in return? Yes, they did; they asked this:—That as they got no value from the clergy of the Established Church, they might be allowed to pay them moderately. (A laugh.) They asked to be freed from church-rates, and from the building of churches as they were before the Union.

John Bull, it was said, was a fair kind of fellow. Now, what proposition could be made to John Bull more moderate than this—“If we, the Papists, give the ministers of your religion any trouble, we are willing to pay for it; but, where we give no trouble at all, allow us to pay them in moderation.” (Hear, hear.) Again, the Catholics complained of the excessive power given by statute law to country magistrates—a power which should never be intrusted to such hands in a free country. In fine, the people of Ireland only asked that the principles of the revolution might be carried into effect. The principles of the revolution interrupted the course of hereditary succession, forced James from the throne, because he attempted to interfere with the consciences of his subjects. (Hear, hear.) The Catholics of Ireland only claimed the sacred rights of conscience; they only asked the poor privilege of being allowed to follow, without pains or penalties of any kind, the religion for which they had suffered so much, and which still they would rather suffer tor-

ture and death than desert. These were their terms—these were the points upon which they were anxious to address the people of England ; was it for holding such principles that the Catholics were to be threatened with the anger of authority ?

The enemies of the people wished to put down the Catholic Association. He willingly challenged every bigot to show in what instance the Catholic Association violated the law.—(Cheers.) If it could be shown that the Association, directly or indirectly, violated the law, he would tell them what the result would be—it would be the instant dissolution of the Association. (Applause.) The call was made to put down that Association, but by whom ? By the vindictive enemies of the Catholics—by those who were rebels and traitors to the laws and to the constitution—by those who would endeavour, by means that would be at once illegal and tyrannical, to put down a body that violated no law, and whose great and legitimate object was to recover their liberties. (Applause.) The Catholic Association met for no other purpose than to appeal to the justice and wisdom of parliament ; they never met that they did not advise the people to respect the laws and to avoid all illegal meetings. The voice of the Association had been heard in the remotest corners of the country—it was the voice of peace, and it was respected by the people. (Cheers.)

The assertion that the people were indifferent to the question of emancipation, was now proved to be a ridiculous falsehood. It had been impudently said that the question was agitated by a few mischievous lawyers in Dublin. Oh, how powerfully did the people brand that foul assertion with falsehood ; out of the contributions of their poverty was created that sacred fund, sacred as the offsprings at the altar, and which the people might rest assured would be as cautiously handled. (Applause.) It should be dealt out with a miser's care, and applied to purchase for the people the invaluable blessings of liberty. (Applause.) Did the enemies of the Catholics imagine that they would be able to restrain the people ? What form of law would they pass ? Would they drive the Catholics to hold aggregate meetings every fortnight or every week ? Whatever law parliament might pass, the people, of course, would obey, until they could get it repealed ; but no law could take from the mind of man the sense of his wrongs, or make him forget his rights. (Applause.)

An attempt to extinguish the Association would only have the effect of rousing the people to a state of almost maddening enthusiasm. If one heart were yet cold or timid in Ireland, a

measure of that kind would animate its slumbering energies, and awaken it to the cause of the country. (Loud applause.) The Catholic rent was estimated at £500 a-week.—in fact £500 was considered a large sum ; but the moment a proclamation was whispered, how did the country act ? Why, the rent was instantly doubled—the receipts of the last week exceeded £1000. (Applause.) How ridiculous, how mad would be the attempt of any government to force the people of Ireland, after all, to part from that faith which was consecrated by their blood—for which they have suffered for so many hundred years—for which some of the noblest families were driven from their ancient possessions, and suffered to starve in the country where they once held power and honour. They suffered under the severity of that code which Montesquieu described as having been written in blood ; a code, the like of which no country in the world was afflicted with. It did not, indeed, subject the victim to immediate death, which would have been a relief ; but it oppressed him by acts of robbery and confiscation—it broke his heart by a cold, calculating, grinding, inexorable persecution. (Applause.)

The enemies of the Catholics had tried the bitter severity of that code, and it failed. What next could they do ? They could not cut the throats of the Catholics ; they were too numerous for summary persecution : they could not prevent the Catholics from looking for their rights ; they would continue to crave their rights, to clamour for their liberties, as long as life remained. (Applause.) What remedy was to be applied ? The Kildare-street Society discovered the remedy. (A laugh.) They procured the attendance of Mr. Noel and Captain Gordon—(a laugh)—and that great commander, Admiral Oliver—a laugh.) Thus the poor Papists were besieged by sea and land—(laughter)—they were attacked by land rats and by water rats—(a laugh)—and the efforts of all those odious and mischievous vermin were directed to undermine the religion and to destroy the hopes of this country.

Was it not too bad to find canting and hypocrisy creeping into the British navy ? There was a time when the valour of the British navy shed the splendour of its glory on the annals of England—there was a time when it was never known that a British ship had struck to the flag of any other nation in the world ; sometimes it happened that one British vessel attacked even two and even three of the enemy, and conquered them. A friend of his, Captain Coghlan, he remembered, attacked two Dutch

vessels, he took one and sunk the other. (Applause.) That was characteristic of the unconquerable valour of the British navy. (Applause.) But the Admirals, the Swaddlers and the bigots crept in ; and what has been the result? The flag of England lost its invincible character—a single American ship frequently attacked and conquered British vessels. The British tar, like the element on which he fought—in action, terrible as the storm—in repose, calm as the smoothest waters—his affections as expanded and his heart as pure. The British tar would at once suffer his limbs to be torn asunder before he would suffer the meteor flag of his country to be dishonoured. But the Admirals and the Swaddlers introduced another species of discipline, and England found, on the ocean, a dangerous and triumphant enemy. The flag of America had been elevated—the star of her triumph illuminated the horizon, and blazed in the effulgence of her victories.

One word with respect to his friend, Mr. Noel—(a laugh)—and that good Scotch hulk, the Gordon—(applause)—came over to instruct the deluded Irish. The Scotch captain praised Scotland and abused Ireland most unsparingly, and after abusing the Irish he told them he came to convert them. (A laugh.) Mr. Noel was a very neat, precise, polite person, fit to attend on ladies of quality ; he was, in fact, a very nice man for a small tea party. (Laughter.) It was, however, to be lamented that in a matter of piety, as well as of gallantry, Mr. Noel had altogether failed. If he (Mr. O'Connell) had been rightly informed, Mr. Noel had been obliged to make a precipitate retreat from one or two houses in the South ; but he could not assure the meeting that it was not for preaching the Gospel. (A laugh, and hear, hear.) He would not say more, because the story that came to his ears might not have been altogether correct, although it certainly came from very respectable authority.

One thing, however, Mr. Noel had proved his incapacity.—He (Mr. O'Connell) and his friends, Mr. Sheil and Mr. Bric, by mere accident had heard of the meeting at Cork. There they found Mr. Noel and his ecclesiastical friends fully prepared and quite certain of carrying every thing their own way. It was not to be supposed that either he or his friends had leisure to study polemics very profoundly ; but the result of that meeting proved that the Catholics were ready, even at a moment's warning, to maintain the truth and soundness of their creed, against men who had devoted their lives to that pursuit ; and now he would publicly repeat the challenge. Let the best of those di-

vines come forward, and the Catholics would ask none but laymen to meet and to refute them. (Applause.)

But if the merits of the Catholic clergy were considered, their splendid talents and their profound learning, as displayed at the late meetings, how great, he had almost said how miraculous, appeared their mental energies, possessing eloquence which Demosthenes would admire, but could not imitate; with the reasoning of Locke, and the sublimity of Burke, they combined all the purity, the modesty, and the humility of the priestly character; they faced the calumniators of their creed; they refuted them; they proved that God had not forsaken the cause of poor Ireland. (Applause.)

Let the Catholic Association but be able to send out missionaries in their turn, and they would soon convince the English people of the real character of the Irish priesthood; he would wish to see sent to England an Augustine friar, who was a bishop, he meant the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. (Loud cheering.) Yet he knew he struck a chord which would vibrate to their hearts; he would send out a priest of the secular order—Dr. Keogh. (Loud applause followed the mention of this gentleman's name.) He would also send out two Jesuits—(a laugh)—the Rev. Dr. Kenny—(applause)—and that mild and polished gentleman, the Rev. Dr. Esmond. Let but these gentlemen go to England, and he would allow the Noels and Gordons, the professors of theology, physic, and law attorneys, and all—(a laugh)—even any of the judges who were of a controversial turn of mind, with the chancellor at their head—(a laugh)—he would willingly allow all these grave persons to contend against the Irish missionaries, and he would put his life on the issue that the Irish priests would triumph—they would stand upon a rock of truth—they would conduct the contest with learning and talent, and conclude it as men, as Christians. (Applause.)

Standing, as the Catholics did, as men, upon the same ground with their enemies—equal to them in talents, in courage, in physical and intellectual capacity, attached to the constitution of the country, and anxious for the preservation of the throne, he would ask them how dare they continue to swindle the Catholics out of their liberties—out of theirs and their children's rights. Never would the Catholics abandon that cause in which they were engaged—they asked from the Protestants nothing but their rights? They asked not to strip the Protestants of a single privilege—the Protestant by emancipation would not be made poor, although the Catholic would be infinitely enriched.

He thought he saw the signs of the times; he saw hope opening on the fortunes of his country. The Catholics would continue with a firm and manly tone to demand emancipation, and as he commenced so would he conclude, by saying, that emancipation was at hand. (Loud and long continued cheering.)

Upon the next day of meeting of the Association the amount of the weekly return of Catholic rent was £1032 7s. 9½d.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to submit to the meeting a draft of the address to the people.

The Association having, he said, received authentic intelligence that agents from the police and Orangemen were actively engaged in enticing the people to become Whiteboys, it became their duty to counteract this perfidious conspiracy, and in the first instance, he (Mr. O'C.) lost no time in putting some of the government in possession of the circumstances, since which, an oath has been pretty generally administered in the King's County, to be faithful to the Catholic Association. It therefore became imperative upon them to disabuse the wretched people's minds from the machinations of their blood-thirsty enemies, and to assure them of their strong reprobation of every illegal or unconstitutional proceeding.

It was because the Association had so studiously kept within the letter of the law, that the desperate Orange faction now sought, by a wretched subterfuge, to involve the country in misery and insurrection, in order to throw discredit upon the Association.

He had for the last few days been amused by rumours of a proclamation for the suppression of the Association. It was certainly ludicrous to hear the brawlers for such a proclamation calling upon the government to put down a society that had violated no law, when it was recollected how they had themselves bearded the government, insulted the king's representative and violated the constitution. But he (Mr. O'C.) was enabled to bring the crime of conspiracy, amounting to high treason, against the Orange faction, and would before a fortnight produce evidence of their conspiring to coerce the government. He could tell the court-house in the North in which the meetings for this

purpose were lately held (hear, hear, hear) ; and he was in possession of the entire of their proceedings.

He was also aware of the late consultations with their present most worthy lord mayor, (a Welch importation,) in order to apply the same rule of proceeding towards the suppression of the Association, which was adopted towards the worshippers of the statue, by obtaining the affidavits of persons who could swear that they apprehended the Association would create a breach of the peace.

When they found it impossible to put the Association down by fair and legal means, forcible and dishonest ones must, no doubt, be resorted to. Who could believe, who could swear there was danger to the public peace from the meetings of the Association, when there was not a man of the four hundred respectable citizens by whom he was then surrounded, who would not be ready to lend their aid, as special constables, if the police required it, for the preservation of the peace of the city—(long and continued cheers.) But nothing that was odious, coming from the foulest, basest, and talentless herd could surprise them, for they were as grovelling in intellect as base in principle—and yet Lawyer Ellis published a letter addressed to the Skinner's Alley folks, in which he stated, that the Catholics were inferior in mental endowments to the Protestants (laughter.) He (Mr. O'C.) recollected going circuit more than once, not exactly in company with, but at the same time as the learned worthy who had the advantage of religion and the influence of placemen. The judges afforded Mr. Ellis great encouragement, and they heard him (Mr. O'C.) when he *insisted* upon it, and they could not help themselves ; (hear, hear ;) and yet when he was labouring to carry his bag into court, the learned master was preparing to put on his dancing shoes, having plenty of his time to himself. In fact his career was one of tried professional incapacity, (hear, hear,) an acknowledged total failure in every way.

The master has published and declared the mental inferiority of Catholics ; but through, he supposed, some strange delusion or other, clients professing the bitterest Protestantism, passed over their Protestant advocate and employed the inferior-minded *Pepish* lawyer. (Laughter.)

Mr. O'Connell then read the address to the people, and moved its adoption.

The address was as follows :—

" TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

" FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—We are your friends, your sincere friends, desirous to protect and to serve you. We address you from motives of pure kindness and disinterested affection.

" Listen to us, because we are your friends—attend to us, because we are most desirous to be of use to you. Weigh well and deliberately what we offer to your consideration. Consider it carefully. We appeal to your good sense and your reason ; make use of that common sense which Providence has in its bounty given you in a degree equal, and perhaps superior to any people on the face of the globe.

" Think coolly and dispassionately upon the advice which we give you, and you will find it consistent with good sense and honesty, and strongly recommended by every principle of morality, and by all the sacred dictates of religion.

" We advise you to refrain totally from all secret societies, from all private combinations, from every species of Whiteboyism or Ribbonism, or by whatever other name any secret or private association may be called.

" We would not attempt to deceive or delude you ; we could not obtain your confidence, if we were to state falsehoods ; and if we could we would not purchase confidence at the expense of truth.'

" We do not come to tell you that you have no grievances to complain of, or that there are no oppressions to be redressed. We are sorry to be obliged to admit, that you have just cause of complaint, and that there exist many and bitter grievances, which ought to be redressed. We know that these grievances and oppressions are the excuses which too many of the uneducated classes of our countrymen have given for turbulence, violence, and the forming of secret associations ; but we also know that proceedings of that kind only aggravate the mischief, and increase the quantity of suffering which they pretend to redress.

" It is to this that we call your particular attention. It is to this that we request your deliberate and full consideration.

" We most solemnly assure you, that secret and illegal societies—that Ribbonism and Whiteboyism, and violence, and outrage, and crime—have always increased the quantity of misery and oppression in Ireland, and have never produced any relief or mitigation of the suffering of the people.

" Every one of you have heard of, and many of you are old

enough to have seen, the effects of several secret societies, and of various descriptions of Whiteboyism, and of much illegal violence, and many minor crimes, as well as horrible outrages and murders.

“Now, setting aside, for the present, all other objections, we will ask you whether any good has been ever produced by such proceedings or atrocities? You must answer in the negative, and you must perceive that the people have never derived any benefit from them. Many individuals have suffered long imprisonment by reason of them—they have caused multitudes to be severed from their families and nearest connexion—they have crowded the decks of the transport vessels—and they have thronged the gallows with victims.

“There are other evils which have attended Whiteboy and Ribbon disturbances, and in particular, the innocent frequently suffer for the guilty. When property is burned or otherwise destroyed, the value is levied off the parish, barony, or county. The person intended to be injured gets as high, and frequently a higher price for his property, than he probably would otherwise obtain for it. But who are they who pay for it? Why, nine-tenths of them must be persons who had no share in the crime.

And who is it can make restitution to the innocent people who are thus obliged to pay their money? What a load of guilt does not this bring home to the persons who commit the crime? They can never make adequate restitution, and how can they ever expect to obtain mercy from the All-just Providence, while they are the means of uncompensated injustice?

“Again, whenever Whiteboy or Ribbon offences are committed, many innocent persons will inevitably be convicted of crimes which they never committed. How many innocent persons have we known to suffer transportation—and how many have we seen suffer death by reason of Whiteboy crimes? Some may blame the administration of the laws for these frightful results? But good sense will soon convince every dispassionate man that they are the necessary result from the passions which are naturally excited by Whiteboy and Ribbon outrages and crimes, and from the rewards which at such periods are justifiably offered to informers, amongst whom will be found the very basest of mankind.

“Fellow-countrymen, we tell you nothing but the truth. No good, no advantage, no benefit has ever been produced in Ireland by Whiteboyism or Ribbonism, or any other species of secret association. Such associations are forbidden by the law of

man; and as they are necessarily productive of crimes, they are more powerfully forbidden by the command of God."

"By the law of the land, any man who joins a secret association, bound together by an oath, or any engagement, or promise, whatsoever, is liable to be transported.

"Any person who joins such a meeting by day is liable to fine, imprisonment, and whipping.

"Any person who joins them by night is liable to transportation.

"Any person who joins them at night in rapping at a door, or even verbally demanding arms, or ammunition, or horses, or uses any threats or menaces against the inhabitants of the dwelling houses, is liable to be executed quite as much as if he had committed a robbery or murder.

"And besides all these punishments by the regular course of the law, there is the Insurrection Act, which can be applied by the government to any disturbed district, and by means of that act any person who is out of his dwelling house from sun-set to sun-rise may be transported without judge or jury.

"We have given you this brief abstract of the legal punishments that await the disturbances produced by secret societies. Every act done by them is illegal, and liable to punishment. We deem it a duty we owe you, to put you on your guard against incurring either the guilt or punishment.

"There is another and a far more important object. These secret societies, and the outrages which they generate, are forbidden by the awful voice of religion. Your religion directs you to be submissive to the laws. It orders you not to do an injury to any man whatsoever. It tells you that you are not to commit any crime whatsoever, however small, even though such crime were to produce the greatest possible good.

"Your religion informs you that if you take or injure the property of any man, you cannot obtain forgiveness of the offence, without making restitution to the full extent of all the property you are possessed of. We need not tell you how your religion abhors every thing that approaches to robbery, murder, or blood. You cannot really be Catholics—you cannot really be Christians—if you do not feel and know what we say to you is literally and exactly true.

"There are other matters which equally deserve your attention. These disturbances have not only never produced any good effect, but they can never possibly be successful. They usually produce some robbery of arms—some plundering of

houses—the destruction of corn, cattle, and other property—and they also cause many murders ; but no human being ever was or is benefited by them ; and beyond these crimes it is not possible that any success can attend the perpetrators. They are totally unable to face the constabulary in open contest. The policemen are quite sufficient to put down the strongest Whiteboy force in anything like a regular attack ; and if they were not, the police are reinforced by the yeomanry corps, and these again by the regular army. The government has at its command upwards of 100,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and if it wanted foreign aid against domestic disturbances, it could easily procure 100,000 more, so that all notion of being successful by means of Whiteboyism or secret societies, is as ridiculous and absurd as it is wicked and criminal.

“ Let it be recollected too, that in all these disturbances and secret societies, no person of education, character, or property, takes a part ; they are condemned by every honest and every intelligent person ; and above all, they are reprobated by your truly amiable, intelligent, laborious, pious, and beloved clergy.

“ How is it possible that you can forget the admonitions and advice of that clergy ? Do you not know that they have no other interest but yours, and no other object but your temporal as well as eternal welfare ?

“ Fellow-countrymen, attend to our advice ; we advise you to abstain from all such secret combinations. If you engage in them, you not only meet our decided disapprobation in conjunction with that of your revered clergy, but you gratify and delight the basest and bloodiest faction that ever polluted a country, the Orange faction. The Orangemen anxiously desire that you should form Whiteboy and Ribbon, and other secret societies ; they not only desire it, but they take an active part in promoting the formation of such societies.

“ They send amongst you spies and informers, first to instigate you to crime, and then to betray you to punishment. They supply their emissaries with money, and they send them to different parts of the country, holding out to the people the pretence of being friends and fellow-sufferers. The instances are not few or remote, of such instigators ; and it is quite natural that the Orangemen should adopt such measures, when the country is disturbed ; it is the Orangeman's harvest. He is then employed in the constabulatory force, and in the police, and he obtains permanent pay in the yeomanry corps. He squares the rewards with the informer, and often keeps him to

mark out his victim.⁷⁵ He is also able to traduce the people and the religion of the land. The absence of constitutional law enables the Orangeman to exert ruffian violence with impunity—and thus, by means of secret and Whiteboy societies and outrages, the fell Orangemen is able to gratify his predominant passions of avarice, oppression, and cruelty.

“You could not please the Orangemen more than in embarking in secret societies, Whiteboyism, and outrage.

“On the other hand, you could not do any thing that could more afflict your sincere friends; you could do nothing that could give greater grief to the Catholic Association, that now affectionately and anxiously address you. We are struggling to obtain your rights by constitutional and legal means. We are endeavouring to obtain redress through the proper and legal channel, for the oppressions which aggrieve you.”

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1824.

Corn Exchange, Thursday, Dec. 9.

JAMES O'CONNELL, Esq., in the Chair.

THE account of the Catholic rent received for the last week was read by Mr. O'Connell amounting to £700 4s. 8d.

The receipt from Irishtown and Ringsend, Mr. O'Connell said, was a powerful illustration that the *poorest* parishes are those which contribute most largely.

The monthly return, distinguishing the rent from the subscriptions, was also read by Mr. O'Connell, amounting to £3007 10s. 4d.

The secretary read several letters covering remittances, requiring collection books, announcing adoption of the rent, &c. Amongst those read were the following:—

“Darrynane, December 1, 1824.

“MY DEAR SIR—May I request of you to have the goodness to hand the enclosed £10 to the treasurers of the Catholic Rent, as my subscription.

“It is the contribution of probably the oldest man in the Catholic Association; but I beg to assure that highly respectable body, that the youngest individual in it cannot be more devoted than I am to the liberties and to the religion of my native country.

“I send this contribution as a token of my approbation of the temper, moderation, firmness, and unanimity exhibited by the Catholic Association.

“I have been personally acquainted with the affairs of the Irish Catholics for very near a century; I am a living witness, for that long period, to the sufferings as well as to the merits of the Catholics of Ireland; and I now fondly hope that, even in my time, their sufferings may be put a total end to, and their merits duly rewarded.

“I remember well the year 1745, when all Scotland, and a great part of Eng-

land, was convulsed by a rebellion against the illustrious family now on the throne. At that period the Catholics of Ireland were peaceable and loyal to the lawful possessors of the British crown. If they had been otherwise, the dynasty might have been changed by force, and the present royal family driven into exile; but the Irish Catholics had pledged their faith, and they at least have never violated their engagements.

We were rewarded at that time with thanks and friendly promises; but the thanks were barren, and it was forgotten to perform the promises.

"I remember well the first relaxation of the Penal Code, in 1778, when the Relief Bill was prepared by the father of the present Earl of Donoughmore; many fiery zealots prophesied that it would prove injurious to the Protestant proprietors of Ireland, and dangerous to the British connexion.

"It had directly the contrary effects. The value of landed property in Ireland was certainly doubled by that measure. every Protestant landholder became richer, by the increased industry and competition of a new and most numerous class of tenants. And as to the British connexion, why at that very time England lost America, whilst in the gratitude and interests of the Catholics she preserved Ireland, I trust for ever.

"I recollect the second relaxation took place in the year 1782. The combined fleets, then in hostility to England, were for some weeks masters of the British Channel; they had it in their power, and they threatened to invade these countries, but the British government became so strong by this new act of bounty to the Catholics, and by the then existing union of all classes of the Irish people, that, although the enemy a short time before ventured a descent in the north of Ireland, with a small force; when they found the government wise and the people united, they did not dare to invade, although they might easily have brought over an entire army; and thus, I may say, that a second time a concession to the Catholics saved the British nation.

"The third and unfortunately the last (but in itself a great), concession was made to the Catholics in 1793. At that period the revolutionary mania, which in France had subverted the throne as well as the altar, raged like a species of moral pestilence throughout the civilized world; it reached Ireland—and the northern counties, which have been since the theatre of the outrages of the mock-loyal Orangemen, were much infected with revolutionary principles, but the government wisely passed the act of 1793, and thereby totally disconnected the wealth, property, and intellect of the Catholics from the plans of the disaffected. The rebellion did, indeed, follow some years later, but its contrivers and leaders, almost to a man, were Protestants of various sects. There was scarcely one Catholic to be found amongst them; and thus, by the wisdom of the government in conciliating the Catholics by a concession of even a portion of their own rights, the rebellion was prevented from being, what it probably otherwise would have been, a bloody revolution.

"I have thus stated these facts, all within my own recollection. because they prove to demonstration that the concessions hitherto made to the Catholics have had an immediate and direct tendency to increase the security of the throne, and to strengthen the British connexion with Ireland.

"I cannot conclude without using that which is the habit, and, I hope, the privilege of old age, that is, without giving some advice.

"I would respectfully advise the Catholic Association to continue to be temperate, without ceasing to be active; to persevere in mixing moderation with zeal and firmness; to continue to inculcate, by precept as well as by example, unconditional allegiance to the crown, and pure attachment to the constitution.

"Let every cause of dissension be for ever banished from your councils, and

while you show your attachment to your king, and uncompromising devotion to your religion, proceed with the firmness becoming freemen, and the charity and mildness becoming Christians, to look for a participation of civil rights with your Protestant fellow-countrymen.

“That is all you should, and I know it is all you do desire.

“I gladly avail myself of this occasion to assure you, Mr. Secretary, of my high personal regard, and of my gratitude, for your great, constant, and disinterested services to the Catholic cause.

“I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, your very faithful humble servant,
“MAURICE O'CONNELL.”

The reading of this communication occasioned, from all parts of the crowded room, frequent and general applause at various passages, and upon its conclusion; and Mr. O'Gorman, to whom it was addressed, when he had finished it, remarked that he was confident, looking around him, that no one would be wanting to move the insertion of so excellent a letter upon the minutes.

MR. O'CONNELL feared it would scarcely become him to be the proposer of such a motion.

The venerable writer had now lived for nearly an entire century, a victim to the cruel penal code; yet his intellect was as unclouded, and his heart as warm to the adopted child of his affections—the cause of Irish liberty and Irish rights, as when his youthful indignation had first been aroused against the injustices and oppressions which had so long been the order of the day against those professing the Catholic religion.

But he (Mr. O'C.) hoped, that his venerable relative would at last witness the opening of a brighter day. (Cheers.) He would, at length, receive some compensation for an age of degradation and slavery, by witnessing the Catholics placed where it was their right to be—upon a level and in complete equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Such a day could not be far distant—even now it was at hand—if the Catholics persevered, as persevere they would—admirable patience!—in their peaceful constitutional exertion and in their unsullied loyalty.

Their loyalty had stood most powerful temptations. Had the Catholics, in 1745, joined the Tories, who are now so actively engaged to perpetuate Catholic exclusion, they would have been emancipated—had they even joined the Pretender's forces, when they marched from Carlisle and nearly reached Leicester, could there be a doubt of their emancipation?

The rebels on that occasion were crushed because the Catholics had not joined them. If they had, the present royal family, would now be heard of in Hanover as the remains of the Stuarts are at St. Germain's.

The learned gentleman then adverted to the period of the

American war as the ground-work of the relief which was then extended to the Catholics—portrayed the important advantages of attending the relaxation of so much of the penal code as had already taken place, particularly that of enabling Catholics to take leases, by which they were insensibly led to identify themselves with the revolution that had taken place a century before. Those estates held under the acts of forfeiture and settlement, were now as secure as if they had never gone from the possession of Milesian heirs.

Mr. O'Connell next adverted to the *Courier*, which, he said, after so long neglecting the Catholic question, fearing to interest the minds of the English public in it, had now set about abusing the Catholics, foolishly imagining that they could be affrighted from pursuing their steady course in pursuit of the dearest rights of man. The lying, ignorant chronologist, in the *Courier*, assails the loyalty of the Catholics in 1793, but the best and fullest answer to that calumny, is the reference to the legislative acts of that year, when the parliament granted many advantages to the Catholics, and prefaced their several acts for that purpose, by declaring the peaceable and loyal conduct of the Catholics.

The rebellion that followed in some years afterwards was begun in the north, and created, not by Catholics, but by Protestants and Presbyterians.

Mr. Ronayne (the late respected Dominic Ronayne, M.P. for Clonmel) moved the insertion of Mr. Maurice O'Connell's letter upon the minutes.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Sheil in a very complimentary speech, and passed with acclamation.

Mr. Tevers, whose letter about the French papers had been read on a former day, was again referred to by Mr. O'Connell, a second letter having been received from that gentleman, containing explanations of his motives, &c. Mr. O'Connell said the Association were, of course, perfectly satisfied, but that it was his duty to repeat there could be no secrecy about any of its proceedings.

THURSDAY DECEMBER 16, 1846.

The amount of rent was announced as £900 9s. 7d. and it was also said that £7000 were invested in government securities.

A letter was read from William Villiers Stuart (now Lord Stuart de Decies) enclosing £20.

MR. O'CONNELL, informed the meeting, that the writer of this letter was one of the principal landholders in Ireland, and had hardly attained the age of twenty-one. His first public act was,

the discountenancing of interested bigotry, when it demonstrated the desire of clinging to the hope, that Orangeism would still predominate, and still remain the source of power and profit to its professors.

The blush of shame should burn upon the cheeks of the county of Waterford Catholics, for having pliantly bent their necks to the Beresford yoke for near half a century; a family that purchased titles, honours, and sinecures, with the means of their Catholic countrymen.

The Catholics of Waterford, who possessed such considerable property, would, he trusted, wipe off the disgrace that had long stained their county, by returning such a member as the liberal young gentleman who had written that letter, and whom it was a high gratification to him (Mr. O'Connell) to have the honour of proposing as a member of the Association.

A letter from Cavan was read, enclosing money, but praying that there should be no public mention of the circumstance, nor of the names of the subscribers.

Mr. O'Connell said, they could not receive any members who refused to comply with the fundamental law of the Association—that every proceeding of theirs should be made public, as they were anxious to comply with the act of parliament, intended to suppress Orange societies, but which had no other effect than suppressing freemasonry.

A subscription of ten pounds was handed in from Lord Riversdale, on whose case it being as yet unrecognized in his title, Mr. O'Connell spoke at some length, and concluded with a motion that a petition should be adopted for its full recognition,

THE PENAL CODE—THE ARMY.

As this was the meeting, the proceedings at which were alleged by the Attorney-General Plunkett, for his attempt at prosecuting Mr. O'Connell, we give all the particulars in which he was concerned.

MR. O'CONNELL said that he had been commissioned by Mr. Pallas, to hand in £5, the subscription of General O'Farrell Ambrose, and to propose him as a member of the Association.

Mr. Pallas had been obliged to leave the Association, otherwise he would have made the motion himself, and he (Mr. O'Connell) would have had the opportunity in seconding it of retorting the taunts of *The Courier*, that polluted vehicle of falsehood and calumny. *The Courier* boasted that the Wellingtons, the Packs,

in short, that all the generals of the British army were Protestants. Why that was the grievance, and not the fault, of the Catholics. General Ambrose was prevented by the oppressive and base injustice of the Penal Code from dedicating his talents to the service of the state. This obliged him to go into a foreign service. He went, not relying on the advantages of a high and powerful connexion, as the Duke of Wellington, but entered as a sub-lieutenant in the Austrian service, and by his own personal bravery and merit, rose from rank to rank, until he reached the degree of general. He had been thirty-nine years in the army, and had seen thirty-four campaigns. (Cheers.)

Was it politic in the British government to reject the acquisition of such talents, which General Ambrose would gladly have devoted to their service, and to transfer the benefit of them to foreign powers? The taunts of *The Courier* were so absurd, that they could only have proceeded from a perfect insanity of falsehood and slander. It was the madness of Orangeism to assert falsehoods of so glaring a character as to be liable to instantaneous contradiction. Was *The Courier* ignorant that there was no foreign service of which the Irish Catholics were not at the head? Was *The Courier* aware that when Maria Teresa instituted the Order of the Cross of Military Merit in Austria, of the first fifty individuals who were promoted to that honour, forty-two were Irish Catholics? (Cheers.)

It was an extraordinary fact, but he would pledge himself to procure the names of these distinguished individuals. The proportion of Irishmen in the Austrian service, could not, of course, have been more than as one to three hundred, and yet we find forty-two out of fifty whose merit was rewarded with a signal promotion, to be Irishmen. He (Mr. O'Connell) had no fewer than six relatives who had attained the rank of general in foreign armies. His father's cousin was Governor of Prague, and Chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria. His uncle had (before the Revolution) been a general in the French service. But such had been the good effects even of the partial relaxation of the Penal Code, that of thirty-seven relatives of his, within the degree of second cousin, who, before the Revolution, had been in the French service, not one was now in any foreign army, but many had perished in securing the triumphs and establishing the glory of the Wellingtons and the Packs. (Cheers.)

It was, therefore, clear, that the want of Catholic generals in the British army did not proceed from any deficiency of talent or bravery in the Catholics, but from the emaciating cruelty of

the base and infamous Penal Code, which rejected their services and left them exposed to the impudent audacious insults of the lowest and most contemptible vermin in the world, the mercenary writers for a degraded press.

DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.

MR. DAVID LYNCH presented the following report from the committee, and moved, seconded by Mr. Conway, that its suggestions should be carried into effect.

That it be recommended to the Association to resolve that a deputation do proceed to England for the following purposes :—

1st.—To visit the Catholic Association in Liverpool, and such other Catholic Associations as they deem meet, on their way to London.

2d.—To endeavour to concert, as well with the country as the London Catholic Associations, the means as well of bringing the Catholic question before parliament in the most advantageous manner, as of laying before the English people the sufferings and merits of the Catholics of Ireland.

3d.—That Messrs. O'Connell, Sheil, and Bric be requested to form such deputation, and that Mr. Bric do take the duty of secretary to the delegation.

4th.—That the deputies be requested to reach Liverpool on the 29th inst.

MR. O'CONNELL rose to say, that he accepted, with great satisfaction, the proposed honour ; because he thought the measure likely to be one of essential advantage to the country. It would be a mission of peace. The object was, to explain to the well-disposed people of England, what it was that the Catholic Association desired, and what the people of Ireland wanted ; and to convince them, in spite of the studied calumnies of the press, that it was the interest of England, as well as of Ireland, that justice should be done to the latter nation—that the wishes and the views of the Irish people were to confirm and consolidate the constitution, to secure the throne, and to bind the connexion of the two countries with the inseparable links of regard and affection, and prevent it from being a source of endurance and misery on the one side, and of persecution on the other. It was right that the Association should know, that they (the deputation) would travel at their own expense, without infringing upon the funds of the Association. (Immense cheering.) It certainly was a considerable sacrifice in a professional point of view, to leave town at that juncture ; but he (Mr. O'Connell) was happy to have an opportunity of making such a sacrifice to the interests of his country.

A letter was here read from Mr. Lawless (Jack Lawless), proprietor of *The Irishman* (Belfast paper), complaining of Mr. O'Connell's strictures on a former occasion, upon the politicians of Belfast.

MR. O'CONNELL.—I avow every word that was set down for me in the paper alluded to ; the report is substantially right. but the sentiments are expressed in better language than any in which I could clothe them. Upon the most mature deliberation do I say, that the liberality of Belfast is affected, and that I have the most thorough contempt for the affectation.

I never denied there was some liberality in Belfast. It is the claim to great generosity of sentiment ; it is the assertion to superiority ; it is the proud and vain boasting which I condemned. This letter contains nothing to change my mind. The strongest proof it gives of liberal sentiment is, that my excellent friend, Lawless, has been supported in his professional capacity in this pretending town. I attribute his success to his talents and his honesty ; he has no competitor in the town in any thing that claims the respect of the independent or intelligent mind.

But, in this same liberal town, forsooth, the Liberals have lately set up three Presbyterian parsons to manage a paper, called *The Northern Whig*, and who borrow, as far as I can understand, their best inspirations from the "mountain dew," known by the vulgar appellation of "potteen." (Loud laughter.)

This *Northern Whig* appears to me to be a fair specimen of the hypocrisy of political principles in Belfast. They invoke the name of liberty, while they assail the ardent friend of freedom. They affect a generous sympathy with the oppressed, while they are as stout and persevering calumniators as the best trained dealers in virulent falsehood to be found in the entire Orange gang. They charge me, for instance, directly and by name, with the guilt of an inveterate hostility to Sacred Writ and the perusal of the Word of God. They know this to be false. They knew in their hearts that neither I nor those individuals who act with me have any feeling towards the Sacred Scriptures but such as becomes the Christian ; that we revere the Word of God, whether written or unwritten ; that we submissively and zealously concur with the Catholic Church in recommending the reading of the Sacred Scriptures in the befitting spirit of calm acquiescence in the wisdom of that Holy Church, to whose care the custody as well as the interpretation of the Word of God was committed, by the Divine Founder of Christianity. They knew well that the question is not upon the reading, but that it is upon the private interpretation of the Scriptures—that our objection is not to the reading, but to the

private and individual interpretation of those Scriptures—
(Cheers.)

Upon this question the Protestants may be right, which I certainly do not think, and we may be wrong, which, I am convinced, is not the case. But, at all events, it is uncharitable and unchristian to misrepresent the nature of the question.—
(Applause.) Yes, these Liberals of Belfast, swelling in the noxious heat of the “*regium dorum*,” labour week after week in their favourite vocation of misrepresentation and calumny; and are only solicitous in fighting under the mask of liberality, that the vizard should not be lifted upon which they vainly rely for the concealment of their moral and political deformity.—
(Loud cheers.)

And what mighty proof is it of Belfast liberality to maintain *The Irishman*, when the same very liberal town supports, still better, two or three other papers of as contemptible a class in politics as can well be imagined? The next topic my friend Lawless urges, relates to the memorable period of our annals, which showed the volunteer strength of the empire.

It is asserted that Catholics were first admitted into Volunteer corps in Belfast. This assertion has been often made, and it is the repetition of the assertion which provokes me. I totally deny my worthy friend's history; Catholics formed the majority and in some instances, the entire of several Volunteer corps in the South, before they were allowed to join a single corps in the North. In Connaught the distinction never existed; and, even in Dublin, at the boasted period of northern liberality, there was an entire corps of Catholics, called the Irish Brigade, under by the way, the present illustrious head of the Irish government, the Marquis Wellesley. (Cheers.) So much for the boast of liberality as to the volunteering system.

It was a great and glorious cause, and it ultimately combined all classes of Irishmen for their common country. But it should not be distorted to flatter the empty, barren, and useless vanity of Belfast into a belief of more merit than was possessed.

The next topic brings us down to a later period; to the times of the classic, the elegant, and the ill-fated Tone and the United Irish. I will not conceal my conviction of the utility of the admixture of the republicanism of the Dissenters, with the monarchial elements of the constitution. I agree with Junius, that however monarchial it may seem wise that we should be in practice, we should never lose sight of republicanism, at least in theory. An union of monarchists and democrats I hold to be auspicious to the national cause; but I will require demo-

cracy to be placed under the control of these wise restraints provided by our constitution. The Presbyterians of the north thought otherwise at the period alluded to. They laid the foundation of the secret society which produced the Rebellion of 1798. That disastrous revolt originated with the worthy liberals of Belfast. They allured some of the Catholics from the paths of duty: and, when they made offenders of them, they were the first, not only to abandon the dupes of their own artifices, but to enter the ranks of the Orangemen; yes, the identical Northern Liberals, who first stimulated to rebellion, were also, when the hope of success faded, the very foremost in the Orange ranks. (Loud cheers.)

And are there not, amongst the worst and wickedest of the Orangemen to the present day, to be found many Presbyterians and other Dissenters? Is not Belfast itself—the boasted Belfast—to this day crowded with Orangemen? Do not we read still of Orange processions in Belfast? Is it not, therefore, both preposterous and provoking to be taunted with praises of Belfast liberality, where the Orange still flourishes, and nothing but empty words are given to the supporters of better opinions? Even admitting that some creditable things are to be told of the Dissenters who flourished in Belfast in the Augustan days of Ireland, does that show that the people of the present time, in the particular town in question, are any better than mere pretenders to liberality, who are to be disregarded and laughed at? It really appears to me, that Mr. Solicitor-General Joy, whose father was, I believe, a United Irishman, and proprietor, I believe, of *The Northern Star*—and whose uncle was, I believe, another United Irishman, and proprietor of *The Belfast News-Letter*, could claim credit for liberality on these grounds, with as great justice as the Belfast Dissenters of the present day could on the grounds relied upon by my friend, John Lawless.

But, bring the matter to the test—I would ask, what are the proofs, as exhibited in their actions, of their possessing a tolerant spirit? My friend gives them the credit of having been the authors of the requisition to Alderman M'Kenny. I will not consent to his taking the credit of that measure from the Duke of Leinster. (Hear, hear.) The noble duke does so very little for Ireland, that really he cannot afford to be thus stripped of his honours by my friend Lawless. (Hear, hear, and loud laughter.) It is ridiculous to talk of the requisition to Alderman M'Kenny, originating in Belfast. This, surely, is a dream—when my friend (Lawless) came to Dublin, and until after we

went together to the Duke of Leinster, there was not a single signature, Protestant, Catholic, or Dissenter, to any document—really John Lawless is a little loose in his chronology.

But, to return: I would then again demand the proofs of the extraordinary liberality of the Belfast Dissenters. They, to be sure, give some countenance to the talent and integrity of my friend, of *The Irishman*, but they support three or four of as paltry papers as any with which our entire island is cursed. (Hear, hear.) It is next said that they cannot prevent the Marquis of Donegal from exercising his prerogative as owner of the borough—but has there been that active system of petitioning against his pernicious, and, to the town, most disgraceful ownership, which such high and mighty liberals ought to pursue? If they possessed any real spirit, would they not long since have a fresh petition every month in the sessions, on the state of their representation—but, allow me to take them out of their own village—these liberals, though they profess their inability to open the borough of Belfast, have properties in the adjoining counties. Have they not? Where are the instances of the exercise of their mighty patriotism to be found in the electioneering records of these counties? Are not the counties in the North as ignominiously delivered up to the possession and enjoyment of a brutal faction, as their own town? (Loud cheers.) Of what avail is a liberality that has not any one useful result?

All the North is in the hands of the Orange faction, in parliament, save only one member for Armagh. Let John Lawless praise them until he is fatigued. I reply, where is the use of all this supposed patriotism?—show me any generous sympathy in our struggles—show me any one serviceable act of these boasted liberals—show me any one vote in either house which they procured for Ireland or even influenced. They are wealthy, he says—a million and a half of property! Well, it is property, now, that influences the hon. houses; where are the fruits of the property of the Belfast liberals? Not one single or solitary vote. Why, then, in the name of common sense, should their patriotism be vaunted until we are disgusted with the useless, driftless, profitless vapour? Why, if they were so liberal, so patriotic, why have they not given some support to the liberal and honest journal, *The Ulster Recorder*, which has lately been set up in the very focus of Orangeism, Derry?—why have they not prevented it from perishing through the want of the commonest encouragement? (Hear, hear.)

Is the hand of their bounty so short that it could not reach Derry? Long as we have been engaged in our struggle for the rights of conscience, there has been in my time almost a constant coldness towards us on the part of the Belfast patriots. With the exception of two, or perhaps three, now gone, alas! to their honoured graves, I never saw cordiality or generous sympathy amongst them—whilst I have for years listened to the oft retold and repeated tale of their virtues. Upon principle, I think, they should be warned, that we know how vain and empty this boasting is—we get no support, no strength, no sympathy, from Belfast. I therefore said, deliberately, that I had a contempt for the sickly affectation of a liberality which showed itself by no deeds—proved itself by no acts—and, probably, continues only to exist, because the embers of a once more violent fire are fanned by the vivacious breath of honest John Lawless. (Much applause.)

I conclude, as I began, by admitting, there are some dozen and a-half of liberal persons in Belfast, perhaps, as I can learn, some thirty or forty—but, for the rest, it is a close borough on the one hand, and the blood-stained arm of Orangeism is extended on the other. I repeat, therefore, that I continue to despise the affectation of treating Belfast as liberal. Liberality is the exception, then—the general rule combines it with the other Orange portions of the North.

PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

MR. O'CONNELL said, the Catholics would come before parliament with a petition demanding to worship God according to the dictates of conscience; they would come before it on the ground of the violated treaty of Limerick; the petition was about to be printed, and three thousand copies of it would be ready for signatures in the course of a week, and would be sent to parliament with a million of names. There would have to be a waggon hired to carry it from the Tower-wharf to Parliament—(laughter)—for the Earl of Donoughmore, in the House of Lords, and Sir Francis Burdett, in the House of Commons.

The next petition would be on the building of churches. Should there be but two or three Protestants in a parish, they can build a church at the expense of the Catholics; they may, on applying to the Board of First Fruits, get a sum of money, which can be levied off the parishioners, without their consent. Then, as to where there are no Protestants, there will be a petition, praying to be exempted from the payment of

tithes, and building and repairing of churches. (Laughter.) There will be a petition on the subject of church-wardens ; the law on that head in Ireland is a frightful anomaly—a Catholic is made to fill, but cannot vote for the office of church-warden.

In England, the Dissenters and Jews are exempted from serving the office. None fill the office without taking an oath, which the Catholics cannot take. The oath binds him to attend divine service, to provide bread, &c., for the communion table, and generally see that things are kept in order at divine service ; two or three Protestants, with the concurrence of the minister, may, perhaps, in spite, elect him church-warden ; his conscience will not allow him to act, yet he is held responsible. What will the English people say to this (said Mr. O'Connell)? will they not be astonished? and will they not applaud the Association for their struggles to see justice done to a suffering people?

THE NEWSPAPERS.

MR. O'CONNELL said, that *The British Traveller* was in considerable circulation, and that it afforded a more considerable portion of its space to the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland than most other papers. He was glad to perceive, too, that *The Morning Chronicle*, though it differed from him in opinion as to the merits of the Catholic religion, was, nevertheless completely agreed with him as to the great principles of civil liberty. The information of the editor of *The Morning Chronicle* was most extensive. He had lately triumphantly overturned the arguments of *The Courier*, and exposed the lamentable ignorance of the editor of that paper on the history of Ireland. *The Chronicle* was the genuine organ of the Whigs of Great Britain—it was the echo of all the rational friends of liberty in England. Indeed, considering the persons whom he was addressing, perhaps he would be better understood when he said, that *The Chronicle* was in England that excellent kind of paper which *The Dublin Evening Post* was in Ireland. And, as he was speaking of that journal he would now declare, that he never read a more admirable article than that in *The Evening Post* of Tuesday last. (Loud cheering.) *The Evening Post* had a just conception of the state of the people of Ireland ; and he was happy to find that *The Chronicle* drew largely upon it. There was no better source of information, and it had been well applied—for there was no calumny of *The Courier's* left unanswered. Bad as the London prints were, they had, however, some taste for decency ; they

did not, in general, outrage every social feeling, like *The Mail* and *Star* of Dublin.

He was persuaded that the attacks of *The Courier* on the Catholic clergy—attacks as slanderous and malignant as ever escaped from the tongue or pen of man—were written by some renegade Irishman, who had climbed to an ignominious distinction by calumniating his country. He hardly knew how to express the detestation and horror he felt towards the author of these attacks ; but the tenor of his life had been consistent. In Ireland, he had traduced the defenceless female ; and in England he had calumniated the virtuous priest. (Cheers.) Wherever he went, his track could be traced by the slime of slander which he left behind him. (Cheers.) *The Courier* had reproached the Irish Catholic clergy for the lowliness of their birth. He had asked, where were the estates of their fathers ? He would answer him—the estates of their fathers had been confiscated ; they had undergone a legal spoliation, while those who should inherit them—the native nobility of the land—were toiling through oppression and poverty, and working out their way to a Christian ministry, which they adorned not more by their attainments as scholars than by their virtues as Christians.—(Cheers.) But he did not speak of these priests in their characters of theologians alone.

He asked *The Courier* to look at their late exhibitions at the various Bible meetings, and he would find that in the depth of erudition, in the graces of fancy, and the splendour of style, in exquisite taste and animating eloquence, they exceeded the children of the dumb and silent sister. (Cheers.) Had they not cast a bright effulgence on the dark night of England ? Had they not exhibited to the ministers of an apostolic church the dangers that threatened their establishment, dangers that must inevitably undermine the national religion of England by law established, if the progress of Bible reading be not restrained. (Cheers.) The Catholic clergy and the Catholic people had been moderate ; they did not dwell on the characters of the clergy of the Established Church ; they did not talk of their aptitude for anything but a Christian ministry ; they did not delight with a morbid appetite for all that was degrading and disgusting, to gloat over the transcendant turpitude of the mitred monster, nor over the Skibbereen pastor ; they did not seek, curiously, to inquire what most powerful cause could induce a parson to give up £1500 a-year, but they very well knew it was not a desire to abstain from the comforts and conveniences of life—(cheers)

—they very well knew it was not a wish to live like an anchorite—all he would say was, that there was a most potent cause for all this, but he would not pollute his lips, nor horrify his hearers by more than distinctly alluding to that cause, and he desired it to be understood that the Skibbereen parsons owed much to their forbearance.

But *The Courier* had praised the foreign education of the priests of half a century ago, while he very well knew that his masters, the then government, hunted down those priests like dogs. (Cheers.) But did *The Courier* wish the priests of this age to be imbued with foreign prejudices against the people and government of England? Did he wish the governments of France and Spain and Italy to have representatives of their views and wishes amongst a numerous and justly discontented population? Did he wish the influential priesthood of Ireland to form a foreign alliance, a kind of “*cordon sanitaire*” with the great powers of the Continent? (Much cheering.) If he wished for this let him talk of a foreign education, but if he wished for a grateful priesthood and a loyal people, let him be more liberal to the one and more just to the other.

When the government performed its duty, England might defy the world. The priests and the people would go forth in an union of sentiment, of devotion, and of love—of love to a constitution whose benefits they fully enjoyed, and whose history was associated with the proudest achievements of their ancestors, and of devotion to a government, whose long former injustice would be obliterated in one solitary act of parental kindness.

Mr. O’Connell concluded by moving that *The Examiner*, whose taste was as exquisite as its politics were honest, together with *The Morning Chronicle* and *The British Traveller*, be taken at the room of the Association.

Mr. O’Connell had, in later years to modify, his good opinion of *The Examiner* newspaper. A strain of bitter, paltry, and pitiful personality marked the conduct of that newspaper with respect to him, for which he was unable to assign any other reason than that it once came within the strict requirements of his public duty to speak as they deserved of the mal-practices of a person connected by family with the leading writer of that paper. And the bitterness towards him has naturally, but miserably, been extended towards that with which he is identified; and which he has created—the great national effort of the Irish people to restore their country to her rank as a nation.

The following is the newspaper account of the arrest of Mr. O'Connell, the first of the three occasions of his life when the law and the constitution were sought to be violated, in order to stop, and crush with its author, his legal and constitutional agitation for the rights of Ireland :—

“MR. O'CONNELL.

“Mr. O'Connell was held to bail on Monday evening, to answer a charge of having uttered seditious expressions at the Catholic Association. The prosecution is instituted by the Attorney-General, and the chief magistrate of police, Alderman Darley, was the person to whom the duty of placing Mr. O'Connell under recognizances was confided. Nobody could have discharged it in a more correct or gentlemanlike manner. The particulars are given elsewhere.

“It is understood that this proceeding has taken place in consequence of a particular allusion to Bolivar, said to have been made by Mr. O'Connell, at the meeting of the Association on Thursday last. The reports of the speech in which the allusion was contained are at variance with each other and the accuracy of the whole has been questioned.

“That upon which the prosecution is said to hinge (namely, *Saunders's* report) has been in an especial manner impugned. It is possible, therefore, that the exact words of Mr. O'Connell have not been given to the public at all. When we recollect the disadvantages under which reports are taken at crowded public meetings—the haste with which they are afterwards transcribed for the printers of a morning newspaper—and the very different bearing which changes, apparently very minute, in the form of expression will give to the sentiments of an orator, this conjecture does not seem at all unreasonable or unlikely.

“But even if the accuracy of the report which is said to be relied upon were proved (notes of admiration and all, for *Saunders* introduced no less than seven of those expressive marks), we confess we should be at a loss to discover the *sedition*, taking the report as a whole—the only fair and legal way of taking it—with its numerous saving clauses. It is right, however, we should add, that the *Morning Register* declares this report to be a ‘foul misrepresentation.’

“The occurrence has created a great sensation in town, and one which will be felt all over the country to its remotest extremities. Yet it is not an event to which we attach much importance. Who that knows Mr. O'Connell can for a moment suppose that he could intend to utter seditious language, and where is there a better judge of what is, and what is not, a violation of law?

“We subjoin an account of some proceedings connected with this subject, which took place at the head office of police yesterday :—

“About the hour of one o'clock, the reporters of *The Freeman's Journal*, *Saunders*, and *The Morning Star* attended before the magistrates of the head police-office, in pursuance of a request from the magistrates, communicated by letter from C. Pemberton, Esq., chief clerk of the police establishment. The gentlemen already mentioned having been introduced to the presence of the magistrates, Mr. Hayden, proprietor of *The Star*, attended by a friend, entered at the same time, as did also Mr. Bric.

“The Magistrates addressed Mr. Bric, and inquired in what capacity he attended.

“Mr. Bric replied, that he understood there was an examination going forward, and he attended in consequence.

“The Magistrates informed Mr. Bric that the examination was intended to be private, upon which Mr. Bric immediately retired.

"The Magistrates then addressed Mr. Hayden and his friend, and asked if they attended as reporters ?

"Mr. Hayden replied that the gentleman with him was a barrister.

"The Magistrates observed that the same objections as to Mr. Bric applied to Mr. Hayden's friend ; upon which this gentleman also retired.

Mr. Hayden was then addressed by the magistrates, and asked if he attended as a reporter ?

"Mr. Hayden, in reply, said that he intended to protest against the examination of his reporter.

"The Magistrates suggested that the reporter should be left to his own discretion, as he was in attendance pursuant to their request.

"Mr. Hayden said he objected to the examination of his reporter, because he thought the whole affair a joke upon the part of the Attorney-General ; but supposing it to be a serious proceeding, he would not permit any of his people to become the accusers of any one.

"After a few observations, Mr. Hayden and the reporter withdrew. There then remained a reporter from the *Freeman's Journal* and *Saunders*.

"Counsellor Graves to the reporter of the *Freeman's Journal*, after the preliminary questions as to whether he attended the meeting of the Catholic Association on Thursday, asked if he had taken a note of Mr. O'Connell's speech ?

"The Reporter asked, which speech ?

"THE MAGISTRATE—The speech in which the passage appears respecting Bolivar.

"THE REPORTER—That passage has not appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*.

"THE MAGISTRATE—That is not the question put to you. You are asked whether you took a note of that passage of Mr. O'Connell's speech in which mention is made of Bolivar.

"REPORTER—I cannot answer that question without referring to my notes.

"MAGISTRATE—Do you mean to say you could not answer the question without your notes ?

"REPORTER—I do mean to say so, certainly.

"MAGISTRATE—Have you your notes about you ?

"REPORTER—No, I have not.

"Alderman Darley, addressing the reporter of *Saunders*, asked what he could say upon the subject ? The reporter was about to reply, when

"ALDERMAN DARLEY observed, that from the disposition evinced by the gentlemen of the press, it was unnecessary to pursue the examination further ; and perhaps it would not be fair to require more from the reporter of *Saunders*. They had no power to compel the gentlemen to give information ; but they wished to learn from them whether they had any objection to state what they knew upon the subject ?

"The two reporters then retired.

"A reporter from the *Morning Post* was shortly afterwards introduced to the magistrates, and upon being asked respecting the report of Mr. O'Connell's speech, he declined replying to any question upon the subject.

"Another reporter from the *Morning Post* was subsequently examined, and was asked if the report of Mr. O'Connell's speech as it appeared in the *Morning Post*, containing the allusion to Bolivar, was correct ; to which the reporter replied that it was in substance a correct report.

"The reporter was then requested to state from recollection the substance of the passage alluded to, which he did.

"This gentleman was afterwards sworn, and bound to prosecute at the next commission

"We understand it is to the Commission of Oyer and Terminer, which sits on the 3rd of January, the informations against Mr. O'Connell are made returnable. The name of the informer has not yet transpired."—(*Paper of Dec. 22, 1824.*)

PROSECUTION AGAINST MR. O'CONNELL ON A CHARGE OF DELIVERING SEDITIOUS WORDS.

We find the following article in a contemporary print:—

"Public attention is so likely to be excited by anything that relates to this gentleman, that we enter into a detail of what has occurred with respect to this prosecution with a minuteness which, of itself, it very little deserves.

"At about half after five o'clock on Monday evening, as Mr. O'Connell had just returned from the committee of the Catholic Association, where a great deal of business had been transacted, Alderman Darley and Mr. Farrell, the constable of police, were ushered into his study. After the usual salutation, the alderman said that he came in his official capacity, to save Mr. O'Connell the trouble of attending at the office, to enter into a recognizance to appear at the next sessions, which he was directed by the Attorney-General to call on Mr. O'Connell to enter into.

"MR. O'CONNELL—Upon what charge, Mr. Alderman?

"ALDERMAN DARLEY—Upon a charge of having spoken seditious words at the last meeting of the Catholic Association.

"MR. O'CONNELL—What words am I charged with having spoken?

"ALDERMAN DARLEY—I am not at liberty to inform you; you must apply to the Attorney-General.

"MR. O'CONNELL—Can I even know the name of the informer?

"ALDERMAN DARLEY—I am not at liberty to tell you; you must apply to a higher quarter. I come merely to inform you that legal documents have been laid before me, that entitle me to require from you a recognizance to appear at the next sessions. I wish to give you the least possible trouble. I have come to your own house for that purpose, and I will take your own recognizance without requiring any person to join you.

"MR. O'CONNELL—Then, Mr. Alderman, I submit at once. I will enter into the recognizance as I am not to know for what; and I am bound to say that you have done your part with perfect politeness and civility.

"The Alderman then produced a recognizance conditioned to appear at the ensuing quarter sessions, to commence on the 2nd or 3rd of January, we do not know which. The recognizance Mr. O'Connell executed, but said—'Why, Mr. Alderman, this directly interferes with my intended journey to England. Could you not take it, as there are yet no bills found, for the sessions after next, or for the term?'

"ALDERMAN DARLEY.—I have no discretion upon that subject; upon that also you must apply to the Attorney-General.

"MR. O'CONNELL (smiling).—There is one thing you'll admit, Mr. Alderman, that the Attorney-General will have no difficulty in getting a grand jury to find any bills he pleases against me.

"The alderman made no reply, but he and Mr. O'Connell shook hands and parted.

"Such is the first scene of the prosecution.

"We took accurate notes of the proceedings of the last meeting of the Association, and we believe we may say with some confidence, that a more ground-

ess prosecution could not be instituted. It is an incident in the history of the country, more calculated to excite a smile, than any graver emotion."

We take the following from a second edition of the same:—

"The seditious words imputed to Mr. O'Connell appeared in *Saunders's News-Letter*. They are a foul misrepresentation of the real expressions used by the learned gentleman, and we are this instant informed that he has caused a writ to be served on the editor of that paper."

"ARREST OF MR. O'CONNELL.

"FURTHER PARTICULARS.

"Morning Star, 24th December, 1824.

"MR. O'CONNELL having retained Mr. Kildahl of Sackville-street, as his solicitor,

"On Wednesday Mr. Kildahl waited upon the magistrates of the Head police-office, at eleven o'clock—Alderman Darley and Counsellors Lowe and Graves were in attendance.

"Mr. Kildahl, addressing the magistrates said, as solicitor for Mr. O'Connell, I request to know if there be any information on oath previously made before any of the magistrates to warrant the chief magistrate in calling on Mr. O'Connell to enter into the 'recognizance.'

"The magistrate replied that there was an information on oath.

"Mr. Kildahl then protested against the right of the magistrates to take further informations, after an arrest upon an information theretofore made before them.

"The magistrate made no reply.

"Mr. Kildahl said his next duty was to require from the magistrates a copy of such information, and offered to pay any expense that might attend the copying thereof.

"The magistrates refused to give any copy, but added, that if they gave a copy there would be no expense.

"Mr. Kildahl then distinctly called on the magistrates to furnish him with the name or names of the persons who made such informations.

"This the magistrates peremptorily refused.

"MR. KILDAHL.—Well, if notwithstanding my protest you proceed to examine any further witnesses respecting the charge already made against Mr. O'Connell, will you permit such examination to be attended, on the part of Mr. O'Connell, by myself, his counsel, or agent?

"THE MAGISTRATES—Certainly not; but inasmuch as Mr. O'Connell is not subject to the inconvenience of custody, we consider ourselves entitled to examine such other witnesses for the purpose of said inquiry, as we shall consider necessary, without allowing any attendance by or for him.

"Mr. Kildahl then withdrew.

"Upon the return of Mr. Kildahl to Mr. O'Connell, the latter gentleman requested he would again repair to the police-office, and require to know who was conducting the prosecution.

"Mr. Kildahl having made the inquiry of the magistrates, they replied, 'we don't know, and refer you to the Crown lawyer.'

"Mr. Kildahl, finding all inquiry vain, thereupon addressed the following letter to Mr. Kemmis, the Crown Solicitor for the province of Leinster:—

“ ‘Sackville-street, December 22, 1824.

“ ‘SIR.—As the solicitor of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., and on his behalf, I request to be furnished with a copy of the informations, by virtue of which he has been held to bail to appear at the next commission, which informations were not only taken altogether *ex parte*, but the matter and particulars thereof have been hitherto withheld from Mr. O'Connell. Having made application for a copy of them to the magistrates of the head police-office, they refused to give it to me, and afterwards referred me to the law officers of the crown. I therefore apply to you for it. You are, of course, aware that it will be impossible for me to take any measure on Mr. O'Connell's behalf until I shall have obtained such copy, the expenses of which I am ready forthwith to pay.

“ ‘I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

“ ‘S. KILLAH.

“ ‘Wm. Kemmis, Esq., Crown Solicitor.’

“ THE COMMISSION.

“ The Judges sitting at the Commission are Mr. Justice Moore and Mr. Justice Vandeleur, and not Jebb, as stated in our last.

“ In the case of Mr. O'Connell, the witnesses examined were Mr. Nolan Elrington and Mr. Byrne (and not Kelly).

“ About half-past five o'clock, when the grand jury had been two hours in their chamber, the foreman entered, and stated that the jury wished to ask a question.

“ The Court said the question must be asked in open court, and by the whole of the jury.

“ The jury then came into court, and the foreman stated that some of his brother jurors were not quite certain of the direction given to them on the subject of the indictment for seditious words. They wished to know whether the identity of the individual, the identity of the words, and the intent must be proved, or whether the *substance* of the words would be sufficient.

“ Judge Moore replied it would be enough to prove the use of words in substance and meaning the same.

“ Mr. Justice Vandeleur said it was not necessary to prove the words *literally*—if the *substance* could be sworn to, the bills might be found. A case had been decided by one of the ablest judges in England, which established this rule. The word ‘outset’ was charged where the word ‘onset’ was proved, and this proof was held to be sufficient, and a conviction went. Yet in that case the accused had the aid of one of the first lawyers the English bar had ever produced—it was only necessary to name Sir Samuel Romilly.

“ The jury proceeded to retire. Whilst they were moving out of court,

“ MR. WALLACE begged leave, with much respect, to dissent from the doctrine laid down by the court in the very wide and abstract manner in which it had been stated. In the case cited the variation was only of *one* word, and a word that could not alter the meaning of the passage. This was clearly quite different from a variation in a passage of such length as that presented here. The position laid down by Mr. Justice Vandeleur would lead the jury to suppose they had a right to substitute a totally different set of words from those contained in the indictment, and thus be prosecuted for one set of words, and convicted of having uttered another set.

“ MR. JUSTICE VANDELEUR—Do the counsel for the accused mean to contend that the words must be proved *literally*

“MR. HOLMES said it was so laid down in a case in 4th *Term Reports*, and in *Archbold's Criminal Practice*, title ‘Sedition.’

“MR. JUSTICE VANDELEUR adhered to his opinion that it was enough to prove the substance; lest there should be any misconception, however, and that all parties might be satisfied, he would have the jury called out of their chamber again.

The jury accordingly came into court, and

“MR. JUSTICE VANDELEUR said—Gentlemen, as there appears to be some misunderstanding with respect to what I stated to you, I think it proper now to say that it is *not* necessary that the words in the indictment should be *literally* proved; but it is necessary that words in substance and meaning the same should be proved.

“The jury now retired again to their chamber. They returned to court about half-past six o'clock, with THE BILLS IGNORED”

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1825.

A LETTER was read from Loughrea on the subject of the numerous false alarms of plots &c., which were then rife throughout Ireland.

MR. O'CONNELL said that the letter related to a portion of those strange conspiracies that have agitated the public mind, and disturbed the country for some time past.

They burst upon the public simultaneously, though in different directions, and were somewhat of the nature of the late famous Loughrea discovery, where, with the aid of one of the Orange dignitaries, a pensioner of the government fabricated a story of having seen and counted sixteen thousand men paraded with fire-arms in a field. Loughrea appeared to be the focus of those plots, and, naturally enough, as it is the classical headquarters of the biblical forces. There issued from the post-office of Loughrea, in one day, several hundred letters containing the word “*prepare.*” The intention was to immediately follow up that process by a search; and finding several of those letters in the people's houses, would lay grounds for representing the country as prepared for rebellion. (Hear.)

In the county of Clare, those letters were also widely circulated; and notwithstanding the exertions of the police, whom we are to suppose very active in the pursuit, the author or distributor has not been discovered. And so admirably was the system of alarm arranged, that it was communicated to England in the most formidable and authentic form.

Mr. M'Donnell has stated publicly, that at a meeting of a fanatical confederacy in London, entitled “The Irish Society of Lon

don," the Rev. Hugh M'Neill, son-in-law of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, addressed the assembly, and among a variety of other statements, equally accurate, assured his hearers that "Catholic priests of Ireland were, at that very time, actually engaged in placarding Pastorini's Prophecies in every quarter of that country, in order to excite the peasantry to deluge it with Protestant blood." "I endeavoured," says Mr. M'Donnell, "to obtain permission to reply to this unfounded representation, but was told by the right reverend chairman, that, 'although the meeting was certainly convened for discussion, yet he could not hear any person that was not appointed to speak by the committee of the society.'

"However, when the meeting dispersed, I went up accompanied by another gentleman to Mr. M'Neill, and, adverting to what he had said, I observed how unjust it was to make such charges if they were not well-founded; I told him that, if instead of all Ireland and all the priests, he would name any one place in which he saw them placarded by such persons, or any one priest who placarded them, I should admit his whole charge. He distinctly admitted that he could not do either the one or the other, but added, 'Well, if they don't do it publicly, they circulate them privately, and that is worse.'

"I rejoined, that it was a strange mode of proving that a thing was done publicly, by asserting that it was done privately, and requested the reverend gentleman to simplify the matter, by naming any one Catholic clergyman who circulated a single number of the work, either publicly or privately. He did not attempt to do so, but said, "Well! all I know about it is, that I got five or six copies from——the Archbishop of Dublin!"

"I assured him I should not trouble him with another word on the subject, as no one could mistake how the facts really stood after that admission."

Mr. O'Connell, in continuation, observed, that being excellent Christians, all manner of calumnies were permitted to be indulged in, against the Catholic clergy, but no one was to be permitted to refute them. (Hear, hear.) Is it not cruel (said the learned gentleman) that a person like the Rev. Mr. M'Neill, who must have received the education of a gentleman, associated with those moral instructions necessary to qualify him for being a minister of the Gospel, could bring himself to give utterance to such calumnies against a fellow-labourer in the vineyard of Christ? Was it that he could not have learned the commandment which forbids his "bearing false witness against his neighbour?"—

(Cheers.) How fitted for preaching and lasting one minister who travels three hundred miles to calumniate the Catholic priesthood by false testimony! To be sure, the reverend gentleman's father-in-law, Doctor Magee, had declared that this calumniated priesthood had a church, but no religion; but he (Mr. O'Connell) thanked his God, they had a religion that would not allow them to utter false charges or calumnies, even against their enemies. (Loud applause.)

Mr. M'Donnell's letter has been before the public for many days, and neither Mr. M'Neill nor the archbishop have contradicted it. One is not surprised at the malignant hostility of vulgar, lowly, uninformed bigots; but there is something so unnatural and revolting in a prelate having recourse to the artifices of calumny, to overcome those whom his prejudices make hateful to him. And then we see him write himself down "a poor, persecuted man," and console himself with the reflection that the Apostles, his predecessors, were also poor and persecuted; but when did we ever hear of one of the Apostles being persecuted by the offer of *twenty-seven thousand pounds* for renewal or leases! (Great laughter.)

As the propagators of alarm saw there was no chance of the Catholics confirming, by any conduct of theirs, the villanous fabrication of a Catholic insurrection, they were resolved to set up something of their own making, and accordingly, on Christmas morning, as the poor people of the neighbourhood of Powerscourt were proceeding to midnight mass, according to the custom of the church, to celebrate the festival of Christmas-day, by ushering it in with the celebration of religious service and the mass, a number of Orangemen assembled, and fired a volley over the poor peoples' heads, in order to make them pass under the yoke to their place of religious worship. The women and children were naturally terrified first, but were not, however, prevented from pursuing their course, as after the first effects of the sudden salutation, the firing had little terror for them, for even our women are accustomed to this violence of the Orangemen. (Hear.)

And what must be the state of Irish society, when such doings are permitted to go unpunished or without being inquired into. But nothing could be too monstrous for those authors of discomfited plots, who betray a refinement in knavery astonishing to all, but those instigated by the same demoniacal feelings and principles.

A recent act of theirs would have had a ludicrousness about it

if there were not a sad certainty that it had effect in England to our prejudice. A Scotchman, who lately embarked in a salmon fishery in this country, had some time since advertised in *The Evening Mail* and other papers, for a supply of ash-poles, which he required for the purpose of setting as stakes for nets; and after the Scotchman, who, although like the rest of his nation, being shrewd was also honest, had paid his account, the *Mail* published an apology to its readers for having given insertion to the advertisement for the poles, as they understood they were intended for pike-handles. (Laughter, and hear.)

After several other observations, the learned gentleman gave notice for moving an address to his Excellency, and a petition to parliament on the subject of recent alarms.

THE RECENT PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. O'CONNELL.

MR. SHEIL said, the prosecution of Mr. O'Connell and the issue of the legal enterprise, in which the provincial government of Ireland had so fantastically adventured, called for an intimation of our sentiments.

I rise to propose the first of a series of resolutions which I have drawn up with a view to suggest the feelings of the Irish people, rather than give them their full expression. I move the following resolution:—

RESOLVED—“That the prosecution of Mr. O'Connell has excited the amazement of the English public, and is calculated to awaken a stronger feeling than one of mere astonishment in the people of Ireland.”—(Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. Sheil delivered a long and strikingly eloquent speech, after which

Mr. O'Connell rose, amidst such astounding acclamations and applause, cheers, and waving of hats, which continued for nearly ten minutes, as description would convey a very imperfect idea of.

After silence had been restored, the learned gentleman addressed the chairman as follows:—

Sir,—It is impossible for me to remain silent or indifferent to the manner and matter of the resolutions just passed; but I am literally placed in a predicament in which, feeling I have much to say, I fear my inability to do all that I ought.

There are, indeed, sensations that we possess no faculties to give utterance to; but I beg this may be believed, that whatever event may involve myself, I wish it may be useful to the people of Ireland, and if perjury had branded sedition on my brows, I would have forgiven the miscreant that occasioned so disastrous a result to me; but it is owing to the kindness of my Catholic, and to the justice of my Protestant countrymen, that I stand acquitted and discharged from that ridiculous accusation.

I have only one apology to make to the people, and it is, for having, as a public man, and one acquainted with the law, submitted to an unconstitutional proceeding, assuming the exercise

of the due course of law. I should not have submitted to an arrest for seditious words, which could only be held to be such by the informer swearing that the *intention* of the speaker was seditious. I should have insisted on seeing the information, and knowing whether the informer had the audacious baseness to swear so, before I bound myself to appear to the arrest ; but I perceived that the object was not my conviction, but the suppression of the Catholic Association, and I felt that if any man was to be sacrificed for that purpose, I was that man—(applause)—that if any part of our proceedings had been illegal, I should be the person on whom the vengeance of the law ought to fall—because if they had violated any of the principles or forms of the constitution, I was the instrument by which it was effected ; and if I have any favour with my Catholic countrymen, I implore them to admit my claim as a *right*, that I may be at all times the victim, when their liberty or their rights are to be sacrificed upon the altar of persecution.—(Cheers.)

I claim no merit for any exertions in the Catholic cause, but I supplicate my countrymen to award me the first post of suffering. I am, however, consoled by the reflection that this prosecution has evinced a malignant activity to proceed against us ; but I lament that, in this disposition, there is a marked neglect of the consideration and feeling that should have been created by the recollection that we are injured suppliants, long seeking for that justice which no demerit of ours has warranted the withholding of ; but I rejoice that this prosecution has demonstrated the legality of our proceedings—has proved that we have kept within the bounds of the constitution, and that our institution is fairly consistent with the existing laws.

Let them attempt to show me any law we have violated, and I will instantly disprove it. No, they cannot do it, and it is not likely that they have neglected to seek the means of establishing such a charge.

Let them show me what breach of the laws of society and good fellowship we have violated ? Have we invaded religion or morality ? Have we interrupted trade, or deranged the commerce of life ? In a word, what principle of the law, or the constitution, is at variance with our existence, although it is possible to commit a breach of the one without violating the other, for we have too often seen, that what was declared to be *law* was subvertive to the *constitution*.—(Cheers)—but the constitution is the parent of the law, and we could not destroy the parent without committing an injury on its offspring.

The result of this prosecution is not my triumph, but that of every man in the country who values the existence of the British constitution, and estimates his privileges as a freeman. Thus I am consoled for any personal inconvenience I may have been put to. But I am told we are to have a parliamentary interference for suppression. Well, should they be displeased at the formation of this room, or our meeting in it, why we can build another—if they object to the denomination which we have given ourselves, why we can change it with that of board, or committee, or even directory. (Laughter.) If they prohibit our meeting, surely they cannot prevent our assembling to dine together. This Association is the creature of the Penal Code, and as long as Catholic disabilities exist, so long must some organ have its being through which to convey our complaints—to proclaim our grievances and to demand their redress.

Having said so much of the Association, allow me to speak of myself. I have been accused of sedition. Oh! that government were but wise enough to avail itself of this opportunity of the creation of a real conciliation; then would they say, "See, a Protestant jury has done you justice, and improve upon the occasion. Seize upon the disposition in your opponents to submit to the government of reason, both of ye embrace each other in the spirit of Christian charity and universal benevolence. Let this be a new era in which every feeling of prior hostility shall be forgotten. Let this act of justice be the first date of an union of Irishmen for the prosperity and peace of their country." (Loud applause.)

But I deny that sedition could be fairly imputed to the words that I spoke on the occasion which gave birth to this prosecution. I never denied those principles of a parliamentary reform which I hold in common with you, Sir; and during the prosecution I frequently declared them. But I am also firmly attached to British connexion as useful to Ireland. I am a friend to the British constitution, under such an arrangement as will secure equal laws and equal rights, (hear, hear,) and a full participation of the British constitution and of natural liberty, by which the one shall not be the mistress nation, and the other that of slaves—(great applause)—by which we shall be brother freemen of a free state, and have been always ready to support that connexion, to ensure its solidity, and to wipe from off it the mildews and rust of oppression. For this my blood is ready to flow to the last drop. (Applause.)

I am firmly and conscientiously attached to an hereditay

government, because I know that the *fixity* of the succession is the security for individual property—that the stability of government is thereby ensured, and consequently the plan and security of society ; and to the august personage who now fills the throne, I am dutifully attached ; because I saw his eye glisten with joy when confiding his person, unarmed and unguarded, to the loyalty, gratitude, and affection of his Irish people. I am attached to him from my admiration of that genuine liberality which induced a king to proclaim—that the differences of the Christian religious communities cannot lead to any difference in the enjoyments of civil and political rights in the countries composing the Germanic Confederation. (I wish the German privileges were extended to Ireland.) What name is attached to that proclamation ? It is that of George the Fourth of England—(loud and most enthusiastic applause)—the name of the first English king that came on the mission of peace to Ireland—a king that, by his Hanoverian proclamation, has proved that if his inclinations were not over-ruled by the malignant influence of that barbarous policy which has so long enslaved Irishmen—that if left to the exercise of his genuine sentiments, he would long since have smitten the foul demon of intolerance, that has so long stalked abroad, scattering in its course disunion and dismay, death and poverty.

He has declared it a principle—that the man is a tyrant who interferes between the consciences of his brother-man and his God. (Long continued applause.)

And that it is an insult to reason, and invasion to natural liberty, to say to any man, he is merely tolerated in worshipping his God as he shall think fit. (Cheers.)

Of the peerage and the wisdom of that institution I am a supporter, from a conviction of its advantages to society. We have a noble instance in one whose presence graces this meeting—(cheers)—whose ancient family have been the grace and ornament of society, and the splendour of whose example and patriotic exertions has had a wide-spreading effect in its influence upon his countrymen. The peerage allied to that legitimate ambition which animates the soldier, the sailor, the scholar, and the man of science ; and in no profession is it more predominant than in my own. It is that legitimate ambition which burns the midnight lamp, and consumes the day ere the sun has risen. The peerage is the offspring of that ambition which is useful to country and kind, making liberty valuable, and giving security to the throne and the people.

The next object of my devotion is that institution which gives the people a voice in appointing their portion of their legislature; but not that system which deludes with words and immoral privileges, and gives nothing substantial to the possessors. But this feeling on the subject of reform, I defy my maligners to say I have ever suffered to interfere with or influence my conduct in the management of Catholic affairs, or the business of this Association. Yet, I would not be thought to be indifferent to parliamentary reform—but while sectarian intolerance is suffered to rear its hydra head, so long will parliamentary abuses continue; and my first object, and that nearest my heart, is that the sectarian differences of Irishmen may be dissolved into an union of national sentiment, giving peace and security to the entire country, and strength to the united empire. (Loud applause.)

I would ask, can my ambition be mistaken? Have I not, as my talented friend, Mr. Sheil has said, given seven hostages to the state as security for my fidelity? and have I not a profession the most abundant in its return for my labours? and had I not that profession, I have a property sufficient to support me in a style of independence suitable to my station, as the descendant of one of the most ancient families of the land. Then should I not be the most doating driveller in existence, to imagine that at my age, and under my circumstances, I could be a gainer; or that my country would be benefited by an armed organization of barefooted, turbulent, undisciplined peasantry, against the marshalled troops of Europe? No, I should rather submit to the consequences of our present degradation, than that a single tear should make any portion of the cup of doubtful happiness to be obtained by a national commotion.

With these feelings, and under this impression, we have associated for the attainment of Catholic Emancipation, and while we remain shackled we shall never cease to struggle to free ourselves from our fetters while we remain unredressed. An Association with the views and objects of the present one must exist. (Hear, hear.) It was but the other day I read in a newspaper a series of resolutions, and amongst others, that six millions of Irishmen were without food, fire, and clothes, and whilst their habitations were unfit for human existence. This declaration I did not hesitate a moment to attribute to some inflammatory demagogue, and on looking at the signature attached to those resolutions, what name caught my eye but that of Drury Jones, Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin (great laughter;)

and are we to be told that in a country producing in such abundance all the necessaries, and most of the luxuries of life, that six millions of people are not to make an effort for obtaining relief from the miseries of wanting food, fire, clothing and habitation?

As they have failed in the experiment of conversion, will their next attempt be that of extermination; or, will it be the infliction of additional slavery; and while they lash are we to be forbid to cry?

Against this dogma of bigotry, whose anti-social fulminations proclaim that a difference of religious opinions should create a distinction of political privileges, the Catholic Association stands opposed—while they claim the Protestant privilege of believing and deciding for themselves in matters of religious faith, they offer in return the holy alliance of mutual charity and friendly confidence. Shall we, Irish Catholics—

“————— Crouch when freedom is our bride,
No! the young offspring of that heavenly bed,
Stand England firm, shall 'gainst the world make head.”

the learned gentleman sat down amid the loudest applause.

THE END.

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